This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

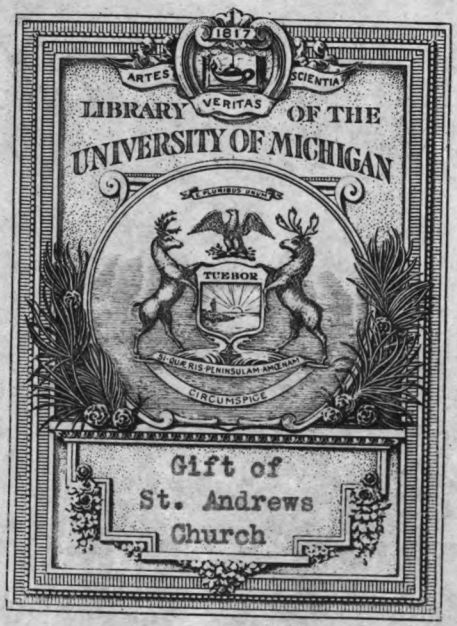
Google books

https://books.google.com

A 411929

Digitized by Google

200
D
Wordsw
v.2



Digitized by Google

PROPERTY OF
HARVARD HALL LIBRARY
NOT TO BE REMOVED

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

HOBART HALL, 42. AT UNIV. OF MICH.

A

CHURCH HISTORY

BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

BISHOP OF LINCOLN

PROPERTY OF
HARRIS HALL LIBRARY,
NOT TO BE REMOVED

VOL. II.

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA TO THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

SECOND EDITION

JAMES POTT & CO.
14 AND 16 ASTOR PLACE
New York
MDCCCLXXXVII

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

St Andrew's Church
4-3-47

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE first Volume, already published, of this work, contains the period of Church History from the Day of Pentecost to the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325.

The present Volume contains the History from the Council of Nicæa to the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

The third Volume (if it pleases God to enable the Author to write it) will bring the History down to the Fourth General Council—the Council of Chalcedon—A.D. 451, and will complete the Work.

The Index to the Second and Third Volumes will follow at the end of the Third Volume.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

On the period of Church History between the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, *and the Council of Constantinople*, A.D. 381.

PAGE

The year 1881, just elapsed, the fifteenth centenary from the Council of Constantinople, in which the Creed was completed and promulgated which is now received by the Catholic Church 1

Review of the past—Bright prospects of the Church at Nicæa, A.D. 325—Anticipations at that time—Constantine, Emperor 1

The united Episcopate 2

But Prophecy predicted a continual struggle between the Church and World—The life of the Church on earth a time of trial . 2

In the Ante-Nicene Age the struggle was of the World *against* the Church; in the Post-Nicene Age it was the struggle of the World *in* the Church 3

S. Jerome's saying—Constantine's character and policy with regard to Arianism and Athanasius—Imperial influence on the Church under his son and successor, Constantius—Effects of the transfer of the seat of Empire from Rome to Constantinople . . 4

Court influence—Power of the Chamberlains 5

Influence of Arian Women in high places 6

Necessity and difficulty of contending for the *Homoousion* . . 6, 7

What would have been the consequence, if Athanasius had succumbed? 8

Apollinarianism and Macedonianism consequent on Arianism . 8

Consequences of want of sacramental grace 9

Contrast in Theodosius 11

Preaching—its power and character . . . . . 12—14

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Temptations—and triumphs 14, 15
Prevalent Schisms 16
Frailties of some orthodox teachers 16, 17
Lapse of others—Hosius, Liberius . . . . . 17—19
Shipwreck of the faith at Ariminum . . . . . 19—21
Apostasy of Julian 22
Persecution under Valens 23
Death of Athanasius 23
Ecclesiastical Miracles 24
Episcopate of Athanasius . . . . . 24—28
His theology—Its fruits 28
His character . . . . . 29—32
His banishments; their providential uses 33
Athanasius as an historian 34
Athanasius the Teacher of the West as well as of the East . 35
Quiet teachings in troubled times 36
Partial orthodoxy in some who were heterodox . . . 37
Inferences from Episcopal failures 38
Roman fallibility 38
Presbyterian parity 39
Sources of strength in Athanasius 39
Practical lessons for the latter days 40, 41

CHAPTER II.

From the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, *and the consecration of Athanasius, to the death of the Emperor Constantine, May* 22, A.D. 337.

Consecration of Athanasius 42
Missionary work—Abyssinia—Frumentius 43
The Goths—Ulphilas 43
Palestine—Persia 44
Manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures 44, 45
New Churches 45
Church of the Holy Sepulchre 46
Helena the Mother of Constantine . . . . . 46—48
"Invention of the Cross"—Mount of Olives—Bethlehem . 48
Constantine recalls Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia . . 49
Athanasius refuses to receive Arius to communion . . . 50
Charges against Athanasius—Ischyras 51
Refutation of 52
Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, unjustly condemned . . . 53

Digitized by Google

PAGE

His Arian successors 54
Other charges against Athanasius—Arsenius 54
Council of Tyre—Potammon's reproof of Eusebius of Cæsarea . 55
Accusations against Athanasius 56
Refutation of 57
Athanasius condemned and deposed—appeals to Constantine . 59
Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre . . . 59
Arius is received to Communion by Bishops at Jerusalem . . 60
Athanasius at Constantinople ; interview with Constantine . 61
Athanasius is banished to Treves 62
Arius is invited to Constantinople 63
His profession of faith accepted by Constantine . . . 64
Alexander Bishop of Constantinople—his prayer . . . 64, 65
Death of Arius 65
Sickness of Constantine—Baptism and death 67

CHAPTER III.

From the accession of the three sons of Constantine (Constantine II., Constantius, and Constans), A.D. 337, *to the death of Constans,* A.D. 350, *when Constantius became sole Emperor.*

Partition of the Empire 68
Bloodshed of their kindred at the accession of the sons of Constantine 69
Gallus and Julian preserved 69
Athanasius restored by Constantine II. 70
His interviews with Constantius 71
Fresh charges against him 71
Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, translated to Constantinople . 72
Death and character of Eusebius the Church Historian . . 73, 74
Death of Constantine II. 74
Gregory of Cappadocia sent by Constantius to displace Athanasius 75
Outrages at Alexandria 76
Athanasius at Rome 77
Rise of Monastic spirit in the West 77
Athanasius supported by Constans, and by Julius Bishop of Rome 78
Dedication of Church at Antioch 79
Council at Antioch 79
Various Creeds of the Council 80
Canons of the Council of Antioch 81

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Chorepiscopi 82
On Appeals of Bishops; on Consecrations; on Translations . 82, 83
Death of Eusebius of Nicomedia 83
Hopes of peace; destroyed by the temporal power . . . 84
Correspondence between the Council of Antioch and Julius Bishop of Rome 85, 87
Judgment of Julius on the Synod of Tyre 85, 86
Remonstrance against the Council at Antioch 86, 87
Appeal to Constans 87
Letter of Athanasius to Constantius 88
The Westerns maintain the Nicene Creed 89, 90
The *Macrostich* 89
Council of Sardica 89
Pronounces in favour of Athanasius, and condemns his accusers 91
On Appeals to Julius Bishop of Rome 92
Canons of Sardica 94, 95
The Donatists 96
Council of Carthage 96
The Eastern Arians at Philippopolis—Arian reprisals . . 98
The East divided against the West, and against itself . . 99
Plot against Vincentius and Euphratas at Antioch . . . 100
Temporary change in the conduct of Constantius to Athanasius 101, 102
Death of Gregory the usurping Bishop of Alexandria . . 101
Letter of Julius to the Church at Alexandria in favour of Athanasius 102
Letters of Constantius in his favour 104, 105
His triumphant return to Alexandria . . . . 105—108
His enemies Ursacius and Valens recant 107
Three years' peace 109
Death of Constans 110

CHAPTER IV.

From the death of Constans, A.D. 350, *when Constantius became sole Emperor, to the death of Constantius, Nov.* 3, A.D. 361.

Character of Constantius 111
Friendly letters to Athanasius 112
Victory of Constantius over the Persians at Nisibis . . . 113
Exhorts his soldiers to be baptized 113
His successes against rebels 113

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Constantius at Sirmium 113
Arian Council there 113
Photinus deposed 113
Victory of Constantius at Mursa over the usurper Magnentius . 114
Valens Arian Bishop of Mursa—his influence with Constantius . 115
"Luminous Cross at Jerusalem" 115
Writings of Athanasius 116
Death of Julius Bishop of Rome; succeeded by Liberius . . 117
Fresh charge against Athanasius; using a Church not consecrated 117
Constantius at Arles 118
Lapse of Vincent of Capua—comment of Liberius . . . 118
Constantius at Milan 119
Arian Council there 119
Creed put forth by them 120
Lucifer of Cagliari — remonstrates against Constantius; is banished 121
S. Hilary of Poictiers—his exile 121
Constantius assails Liberius 121
Noble resistance of Liberius 122
Banished to Thrace 123
Constantius assails Hosius; his courageous answer . . 123, 124
Banished to Sirmium 125
Constantius attacks Athanasius 125
Outrages at Alexandria—His conduct there 125
He retires into the desert 126
George of Cappadocia is intruded into his see 126
"Apologia" of Athanasius to Constantius 127
His writings in retirement 127
Arian formulas of belief at Sirmium 128
Fall of Hosius Bishop of Corduba 128
Fall of Liberius Bishop of Rome 128, 129
Tenderness of Athanasius 129
S. Hilary—Phœbadius—S. Cyril of Jerusalem . . . 130
Apollinarians and Macedonians produced by Arianism . . 130
Semi-Arians—Basilius of Ancyra 131, 135
Vacillation of Constantius 132
"The dated Creed" 132
Council of Ariminum; at first orthodox 133
Its deputies overreached by Arians 134
The Bishops at Ariminum yield—Arianism triumphant . 135, 137
Meletius at Antioch 138
Julian marches from Paris against Constantius 139

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Sickness, baptism, and death of Constantius 139
Review of his reign 140
Evil overruled for good 140
Good mingled with evil 141
Missions to heathen—Georgia—Persia—Arabia . . . 142
S. Cyril of Jerusalem on the effects of the Gospel . . . 143
On strifes and errors of Christians 144
Julian arrives at Constantinople 144

CHAPTER V.

From the accession of Julian, A.D. 361, *to his death,* A.D. 363.

Remarkable circumstances at the accession of Julian . . . 145
Disadvantages of his younger life 146
Early influences and sudden elevation 147
His wife Helena, sister of Constantius 147
Special interest of his reign 148
Examples of retributive justice executed by his means . . 149
Circumstances favourable to Heathenism—internal strifes of the Church 149
Julian's special qualification for a warfare against Christianity . 150
His intellectual gifts and attainments 151
His moral qualities and habits 152
His enthusiastic love of Paganism 153
His mysticism 154
His apostasy 154
Personal appearance 154
Views of his own Imperial mission 155
Aided by Powers of darkness 155, 156
Belief in oracles; and divination 157
Parallel between Julian and Antiochus Epiphanes . . . 158
His policy for the overthrow of Christianity 159
Toleration 159, 161
Recall of Bishops 159
Edicts against Christian Professors 159
Popular outbreaks against Christianity 160
Allurements to idolatry 161
Pauperization of Clergy 161
Julian's attempts to popularize and moralize Paganism . . 162
Overruled for good 163

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Noble examples of Christian Confessors—Romanus, Cæsarius, F. M. Victorinus 164
Remarkable conversion and confession of Victorinus . . 164—166
Christian Poetry due to Julian's aggressions 167
His writings against Christianity 167
Their witness to the faith professed by the Church . . . 168
Martyrdom of Mark of Arethusa 169
George of Cappadocia—is he the "S. George of England?" . 169
Council of Alexandria under Athanasius 169
Its wise decrees as to the "*lapsi*" 170
Rigour of Lucifer of Cagliari—consequent schism at Antioch—"Luciferians" 170
Hypostasis sometimes used as equivalent to *Persona* . . . 170
Julian's persecution of Athanasius 171
"This cloud will soon pass by" 171
Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem—reasons for 172
A direct antagonism to Christ 172
Preparations for the work—Jewish co-operation in it—progress of and results . . . . . 172—174
Christian testimonies 172
Ammianus and Gibbon upon it . . . . . 174—176
Warburton's Julian 176
The end was near 176
Campaign in Persia 176, 177
Favourable responses of heathen oracles—Delphi, Delos, Dodona ts site, *note*) 177
Christian predictions 177
Julian's victory—confidence and temerity 178
His forebodings; defeat and death-bed 179
Review of his character and acts . . . . . 180—182
Solution of the enigma 183
"Thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!" 185

CHAPTER VI.

From the accession of Jovian, A.D. 363, *to the death of Athanasius,* A.D. 373.

Inferences from Julian's reign 186
Election of Jovian—His avowal of Christianity . . 187, 188
Julian's burial at Tarsus 188

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Jovian's piety and modesty—Ancient Inscription at Corfu (*note*) —his letter to Athanasius 189
Reply of Athanasius and his Synod to Jovian on the true faith 190, 192
Disruption of Arianism 193
Inferences from 193, 194
Jovian's reply to Arians 194
His character and death 195, 196
Council of Laodicea—its date 196
Its Canons—on Ordination; Chorepiscopi; divine worship and ritual; fasting; baptism; reception of heretics; on resort to heretical places of worship; on worship of Angels; on sorcery; on Psalmody; on the "Canon of Scripture" . . . . . 197—200
On the principles which guided the Church in the formation of the Canon—
(1) Of the *Old* Testament . . . . . 201—203
(2) Of the *New* Testament 204
On the "Apocrypha" and on "Ecclesiastical Books" . . 203
Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium 203
Conjectural emendations of his verses to Seleucus (*note*) . . 203
On what basis the "Canon of Scripture" rests . . . 205
Wisdom of the Church of England in this matter . . . 205
Valentinian chosen Emperor 205
Appoints his brother Valens to be Emperor of the West . . 205
Their different religious belief and procedure 206
Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, acquitted 207
Protest of S. Hilary 208
S. Hilary on secular usurpations in spiritual matters . . . 209
S. Hilary against Arianism 210
On Church and State 210
Remarks on his character and writings 211
Benefits derived by the Church from some secular Powers and Acts 212
Valentinian and S. Ambrose 212
Semi-Arian Councils 213
Prosecution of Magicians 213
Divination concerning Valens—THEOD—death by fire . . 214
Semi-Arian Appeal to the West 214
Approximation of Semi-Arians to Homoousians . . . 214
Recovery and Reply of Liberius 215
Death of Liberius—Contested election of Damasus . . . 216

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Luxury and avarice at Rome 216, 217
Character of Damasus 217
Occupations of Athanasius—his writings 218
Important declaration on the "Canon of Scripture" . 219, 220
The Trent Canon of Scripture contrasted with that of Athanasius 220
Athanasius, by anticipation, condemns Apollinarianism and Nestorianism 221
Ordination of Siderius 222
Conciliatory judgment of Athanasius on the words "*Person*" and "*Hypostasis*" 222
His firmness and charity 223
S. Basil's letters to S. Athanasius 224, 225
Death of Athanasius—in what respect opportune . . 225, 226
Men pass away; the Faith remains 226
The sacred Lampadephoria 227

CHAPTER VII.

From the accession of the Emperor Valens and the Ordination of S. Basil, A.D. 364, *to the death of Valens, Aug.* 9, 378, *and to the death of S. Basil, Jan.* 1, 379.

Chronological coincidences between Valens and S. Basil . . 229
Difference between the two persecutions respectively under the two Emperors Constantius and Valens . . 229, 230
Providential purposes answered under persecutions by Constantius, Julian, and Valens 230, 231
Character of Valens—reign of terror 230
Persecution general 231
Eighty presbyters burnt 232
Attempts against Basil 233
His birth, parentage, and early history 233, 234
Cœnobia 234, 235
Gregory Nazianzen on 234, 235
Basil's ordination 236
His connexion with Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia 237
Basil's works of charity 237
His Liturgy 237, 278, 282
His election to the See of Cæsarea 239
Gregory Bishop of Nazianzus, the father 239
Territorial divisions of Roman Empire preadjusted to those of the Church 240

Digitized by Google

PAGE

1. Diœcesis; 2. Province; 3. Diocese 241
Exarchate of Cæsarea 241
Basil's difficulties and adversaries—Eustathius of Sebaste . 242, 243
Council of Gangra against Eustathians 243
Canons on asceticism 243
On Married Priests 244
On temperance and chastity 244
Basil on "Marriage with a deceased Wife's sister" . . 245, 262
On the divinity of the Holy Ghost 246
Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother 247
Basil's letters of entreaty and remonstrance to Damasus Bishop of Rome 247
His description of the state of the Eastern Church under Valens 247, 248
His complaint of the pride of Damasus 249
Moral condition of Rome 249
S. Jerome on the pride of Basil 250
S. Basil's comfort from Milan and S. Ambrose . . 250, 251
On the doxology sometimes used by S. Basil, and on the Godhead of the Holy Ghost 252
Valens sends the Prefect Modestus to arraign Basil . . . 253
Their dialogue . . . . . 253—255
Report of Modestus to Valens 255
The Emperor Valens in the Cathedral Church of Cæsarea . 255
The Bishop's place, as Celebrant, in the Church . . 255, 256
Basil's Asylum and Hospital 256
Ruins near Cæsarea 257
State of the Church of Alexandria 258
Banishment of Bishops 258, 263
Eusebius of Samosata 258, 259
Basil's "Canonical Epistles" 259
On Baptism, Marriage, Divorce, Marriage with wife's sister, Vows of abstinence 259, 260
On frequent Communion 261
Gregory Nyssen on Pilgrimages to the Holy Land . . 261, 262
His banishment 263
S. Epiphanius to S. Basil on the Schism at Antioch . . 263
What addition was needed to the Nicene Creed . . . 263
On *hypostasis* and *person* 264
Basil's sympathy with secular studies 265
His view of classical Authors and their writings . . 265, 266
His book "on reading the works of the Gentiles" . . 265, 269

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Homer, Hesiod, &c. 267
On heathen Examples: Pericles, Euclid, Alexander, Milo, Timotheus 268
Gregory Nazianzen on Basil's works. 269
The Goths used as Instruments of Divine Providence . . 270
Ulphilas 270
Goths, flying from the Huns, appeal to Valens 271
His impolitic negotiations with them 271
Their revolt and invasion 271, 272
Battle of Adrianople 272, 273
Death of Valens 273
Oracular prognostications—Conjectural emendations of a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus 273, 274
Retribution 273, 274
Theodosius preserved 274
Last days of S. Basil at Cæsarea 275
His death 276

CHAPTER VIII.

Divine Worship in the Church—Ancient Liturgies—Effects produced on Christian Life—Marriage and Celibacy—Elevation of Womanhood—Its influence.

Quiet influence of the spiritual life of the Church in evil times . 277
Use of a Scriptural and Catholic Liturgy 277
Primitive Liturgies not committed to writing 278
S. Chrysostom's Liturgy derived from S. Basil's . . . 278
S. Justin Martyr on the primitive Liturgy 279
Order and substance of Divine Service 279, 280
Clementine Liturgy . . . . . 279—281
Ancient Liturgies substantially the same, with circumstantial varieties 281, 282
S. Basil's Liturgy 282
Probably derived in part from that of St. James of Jerusalem . 283
Liturgy of Jerusalem as described by S. Cyril . . . 283, 284
Cyril's Sacramental Lectures 283, 284
On the Ritual of Holy Baptism 284, 285
On the Ritual of Holy Communion . . . . . 285—288
On prayers for the faithful departed 279, 286, 287

Digitized by Google

PAGE

On the moral and social effects of the Doctrine of the Incarnation; and on its blessings conveyed by the working of the Holy Ghost in Baptism, Prayer, Holy Scripture, and Holy Communion 288
Christian Life—social and domestic 289
Consecration of Womanhood 289
Marriage and Celibacy 289
Doctrine of Holy Scripture and the Church on Marriage and Celibacy of the Clergy 289, 290
Relations of Women to the Church 291
Influence of Arianism on Womanhood 292
And of Catholicism—Female sympathy 292
Examples of the great early Teachers of the Church; their relation to Womanhood . . . . . 292—294

CHAPTER IX.

From the accession of Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the East, Jan. 19, A.D. 379, *to the Council of Constantinople, May to July* 9, A.D. 381.

Condition of the Empire on the death of Valens . . . 295
Gratian associates with himself Theodosius, to be Emperor of the East 295
Religious distress of Constantinople—Arians and Semi-Arians or Macedonians 296
Who will be able to relieve it? 297
Gregory of Nazianzus 297
His history—eloquence—learning—sympathy 298
His mother 298
His funeral orations on his sister, brother, and father . 299, 300
On the state of the soul after death 299
His father's church at Nazianzus—on ancient churches . . 300
Sets out for Constantinople—His prayer and vow . . 300, 301
His church at Constantinople—Anastasia 301, 302
His Sermons—on Peace; on theological speculation and controversy 303
On theological talk—Need of work 304
Gregory on the evidences of God in Nature—and revelations in Scripture 305
On the Divinity of the Son; and of the Holy Ghost . . . 305

Digitized by Google

PAGE
On the two Natures, and one Person, of Christ 306
On Baptism 306
On the Godhead and Personality of the Holy Ghost . . . 307
Successive revelations of the Divine Persons in Scripture . . 307
Gregory "*the Theologian*" 308
The Church holds the mean between Sabellianism and Arianism 309
Gregory on the Maccabees 309
Festival of the Maccabees 309
Gregory on Athanasius 310
On Cyprian 310
S. Jerome a scholar of Gregory at Constantinople . . . 310
Gregory's troubles 310, 311
Undermined by Maximus 311
Consecration of Maximus at Constantinople 312
Theodosius baptized by Ascholius 312
Laws of Theodosius on Religion 313
He repels Maximus 313
Consults Damasus 313
He convenes the Council of Constantinople 314
He commits the Church at Constantinople to the care of Gregory 314
Gregory, with the Emperor, in the Church of S. Sophia . . 315
Gregory's Sermon to Theodosius, the nobility, philosophers, and people of Constantinople 315, 316
His Episcopal reforms and generosity 316
His Sermon on the Incarnation, at Christmas; on Baptism of young children; on delay of Baptism 317
Ecclesiastical Legislation of Theodosius 317
Warnings from the history of the Priscillianists against Appeals from the Spiritualty to the Secular Power for coercive measures in matters of religion 317, 318
Preparations for the Council of Constantinople 319
Damasus on Apollinarianism 320
On the Macedonian heresy 321
Interview of the Bishops with Theodosius 322
He recognizes Meletius Bishop of Antioch 322
Special characteristics of the Council of Constantinople . . 323
Its members 323
The Macedonians 323
Its Synodical acts: it annuls the ordination of Maximus; confirms the election of Gregory as Bishop of Constantinople . 324
Attempts to heal the Schism at Antioch 324
Death of Meletius—prospec of peace—Gregory's wise counsels . 325

Digitized by Google

PAGE

The "younger Bishops" oppose Gregory—the election of Flavian to the See of Antioch 326
Unjust allegations against Gregory 327
He resigns his see 328
His farewell oration in the Church of S. Sophia . . . 329
His retirement 330
The Election of Nectarius to the See of Constantinople . . 331
Acts of the Council—Secession of the Macedonians from the Council 331
Dogmatic decrees of the Council 332
The Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed; the Creed of the Universal Church for 1500 years 333
On the procession of the Holy Ghost—how the Greek and Latin Churches are to be reconciled as to the *filioque* . . 334—336
Canons of the Council of Constantinople 337
Dignity of the See of Constantinople 338
Canon against Maximus 338
Canon on Appeals 339
No *Western* Bishop prese a the Council of Constantinople . 339
Letters of the Council to heodosius; and to the Western Bishops 340
On the ordination of Necta rius; and Flavian; and restoration of S. Cyril to Jerusalem, "the mother of all Churches" . 341
Why the Council of Constantinople is called a *General* Council 342
The Constantinopolitan Creed has been received and maintained in Christendom for 1500 years – and cannot now be shaken 342
What the life and work of the Church Catholic on earth is . 343
What Church History is 344
Constantinople, once a seat of heresy, became a fortress of faith. 344
Inferences from the history of the Church between the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople 345
God's strength perfected in man's weakness 346
Prospects of the future; Signs of the Latter Days . . . 347
Conclusion 347

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

On the period of Church History between the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, *and the Council of Constantinople,* A.D. 381.

THE present Volume comprises the history of the Church from the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, to that of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

The year 1881, just passed, was the fifteen-hundredth from the Council of Constantinople, in which the Creed was promulgated, which is now received by all Catholic Churches.[1]

They who live now are enabled to form a clearer judgment on men, actions and events, than could have been pronounced by those who were contemporary with them; and they will be strengthened in the profession of the Truth by observing how the hostile attacks against it were overruled by the Divine Head of the Church for the stronger confirmation and clearer manifestation of the Faith.

When the Creed of Nicæa was put forth in A.D. 325, it might have been anticipated that a time of peace and prosperity had dawned upon the Church.

[1] With the addition of the *filioque* in the Western Church. See above, vol. i. of the present work, p. 453.

Digitized by Google

The Emperor of the Roman world, Constantine, had summoned that Council, in which that Creed had been published; and after its adoption he had commended it to general acceptance in the Roman Empire. The former opponents of the faith had subscribed it. The 318 Bishops who had met at Nicæa returned to their dioceses with thankfulness and joy, and after a stormy voyage of more than 300 years the bark of Christ's Church seemed to be at length safely anchored in a harbour of peace.

But the Divine Founder of the Church, when He declared that He would build His Church on a Rock, had also said that the gates of Hell would not prevail against it (Matt. xvi. 18), and He had implied by that saying that those Powers would violently attack it, and He revealed to the beloved disciple, St. John, in the Apocalypse, that the Church must expect to be assailed by the Evil One in various forms, in successive ages, to the complete triumph of Her Divine Lord at the final consummation of all things.[2]

We are not, therefore, perplexed by the sufferings of the Church in the interval between Nicæa and Constantinople, which in some respects were more severe than those of the Ante-Nicene age.

1. The study of this portion of Church History, if read in the chronological sequence of events, may be found to be tedious and embarrassing; but if a preparation is made for that study, by a careful consideration of the causes which produced those events, it will be seen to be full of interest and instruction.

To suggest some reflections on those causes, is the design of the present chapter.

[2] See on Rev. vi. 2; vii. 7.

Digitized by Google

In the Ante-Nicene age the World had been arrayed *against* the Church; but in the next period the World worked *in* the Church; and it caused more injury to the faith than when arrayed against it. As S. Jerome says, "the Church under sovereign Princes was greater in wealth and power, but she was less in virtues." [3] In the former age she had been glorified by a noble army of Martyrs; in the latter she was distressed by many time-serving Prelates, and was betrayed by some who fell from the faith, and either secretly undermined or openly impugned it.

2. We may here review some of the causes and consequences of the worldly spirit operating in the Church and upon it.

Constantine, we need not doubt, was zealous for the faith to which he attributed his victories. But he loved peace more than truth. After the Council of Nicæa he had banished Arius and his friend and patron Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, the most powerful partisan of Arianism. But, without any due evidence of their amendment, the Emperor restored and encouraged them; and he abandoned, persecuted, and eventually banished on false accusations, Athanasius, the champion of the Nicene faith, the Bishop of the Church of Alexandria, who was supported by the united testimony of his suffragans. In the person of Athanasius the Faith was sacrificed by the Emperor of the world to secular policy and to a desire of peace.

3. Under Constantine's son and successor in the East, Constantius, the worldly spirit worked with still more subtilty and energy against the Church.

[3] "Ecclesia sub principibus, divitiis major, virtutibus minor." S. Jerome in vitâ Malchi, tom. iv. p. 91, ed. Benedict. 1706.

Digitized by Google

Christianity had gained much by the transfer of the seat of Empire from Rome to Constantinople by Constantine in A.D. 330. The Empire had migrated from a city of heathen temples to a capital of Christian Churches, in which no signs of idolatry were visible, except in a vanquished form. The spiritual Enemy of the Church, symbolized by the Dragon,[4] was displayed there, crushed under the feet of Constantine, triumphing by the power of the Cross; which held a conspicuous place in the stateliest presence-chamber of the Imperial Palace.

But oriental effeminacy was more unfavourable to the Church than Western heathenism had been. Especially was this the case under weak, fickle, and therefore—when under evil influences—vindictive and sanguinary emperors, such as Constantius[5] and Valens.

4. The power of the courtly freedmen at Rome under emperors such as Nero and Claudius, had been the scourge of their subjects; but under the Eastern Empire, where no hereditary patricians exercised an independent power, and all civil and military offices were disposed of by the imperial will, there arose a class of ambitious aspirants, subtle intriguers, servile sycophants, implacable enemies, whose influence was as disastrous to the Church as that of the liberti, or freedmen, had been under heathen emperors to the State. They had been created by the social vices of the times, and they were potent allies of the World in its hostility to the Church.

These were the Eunuchs—we must mention their

[4] Euseb. Vita Const. iii. 348, 349; iv. 15, 17.

[5] Ammianus Marcellinus does not scruple to compare Constantius to Nero, Caligula, and Commodus, xxi. 16, "*quorum immanitatem facile superabat.*"

Digitized by Google

name. The contemporary heathen Historian Ammianus Marcellinus dilates on their power and their profligacy; and the Christian Bishop Athanasius displays them as inveterate enemies of the faith. Ammianus says somewhat archly,[6] that "Constantius had great influence with his chamberlain, the Eunuch Eusebius:" as if the minister were the lord of his lord; and he reveals the secret of this influence when he describes Constantius as "uxorious, and as listening to the shrill voices of those courtly parasites, who governed him by adulation, and moulded his will to their own by indulging his caprices."[7] Athanasius confirms this statement when he says[8] that Eusebius, the Chamberlain of Constantius, "stirred up the rest of the Eunuchs against Liberius, Bishop of Rome, and that the Eunuchs had great power, indeed were paramount with him, and that nothing was done without them."

5. We need not therefore be surprised to find that in the Eastern Empire royal and princely Women were enlisted by these Chamberlains on the side of heresy against the faith. The Church was too uncompromising for them. The Eunuchs as a class were stigmatized by her Canons. And because she would not stoop to sue for their favour, or to cherish their love of domination, they worked by female influence against her.

The Mother of Constantine, Helena, sprang from a lowly parentage, and belonged to a simple race; and her piety and devotion, especially in Palestine, are

[6] Ammian. Marcell. xviii. 4.

[7] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 16: "Uxoribus ac spadonum gracilentis vocibus et palatinis quibusdam nimium quantum addictus, ad singula ejus verba plaudentibus."

[8] Athanasius ad Monachos, § 37. Greg. Naz. Or. xxi. § 21.

Digitized by Google

celebrated in the history of the Church. But the sister of Constantine, the widow of Licinius, Constantia, was an ardent partisan of Arius, and commended him to her brother's favour and protection. Aurelia Eusebia, the second and favourite wife of Constantius, was devoted to the same cause. Albia Dominica, the wife of the Emperor Valens, abetted him in his advocacy of Arianism and persecution of the Church. In her hostility to S. Basil she had an imitator in the Arian widow of Valentinian, Justina, the enemy of St. Ambrose. The wife of Theodosius the Great, Placilla, stands forth as a noble and almost solitary example of zeal for the true faith among the royal consorts of the fourth century.

Such being the tone and temper of the Eastern Court, it was not an easy thing for the Bishops of the Church, especially in the principal cities, to resist the subtle infiltration of the spirit of the world exercising its influence by such powerful agency.

6. They who look back from the present age to the fourth century, will have been taught by the wisdom of great men—the learned and pious champions of the Faith, and by the heroic martyrs and confessors of it, and by the experience of fifteen centuries, and by the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Catholic Church—to understand and estimate aright the importance of the struggle for the truth, especially for the Consubstantiality of the Eternal Son of God, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God. Such persons know that the uncompromising maintenance of that fundamental article of the true Faith, the Son's Consubstantiality with the Father, has been the safeguard against the various forms of

Digitized by Google

veering and vacillating heresy on the nature of the Son of God, which have attempted to supplant it. Not less than sixteen different formularies of belief[9] in the course of little more than fifty years were devised by Arians, Semi-Arians, and Anomœans in lieu of the faith of Nicæa. Error is various, Truth is one. And the word HOMO-OUSIOS, or CONSUBSTANTIAL, remains, and ever will remain—like the Bush at Horeb—burning, but never consumed.

In vain did the adversaries allege that this word *consubstantial* is not found in Holy Scripture: as if the *true sense* of Scripture were not Scripture, and as if the *Homoousion* had not been abundantly proved from Scripture;[1] and as if the Arian substitutes for it were Scriptural, either in word or in sense. In vain did Arians affirm that the term *consubstantial* led to Sabellianism; forgetting that their own formularies were chargeable with Tritheism or with Creature-worship. In vain did they plead that the abandonment of the *Homoousios* would be a prudent compromise, and happy eirenicon; as if the conflicts between Semi-arians and Anomœans were not as virulent and furious as those of either, or of both, against the Church of Christ.

While Heresy was thus fickle and fleeting, Athanasius and his friends remained firm and steadfast, and never accepted a new Creed (from any of the various successive Synods of Arianism), nor ever abandoned the old one.

They who read the history of the times calmly, know how disastrous and fatal would have been the

[9] They may be seen enumerated in the Abbé Fleury's Hist. Eccles. iii. 106, and in Canon Bright's Church History, Oxford, 1875, 3rd edit., p. 116.

[1] See above, vol. i. of the present work, p. 452.

Digitized by Google

consequences if Athanasius had accepted the proffered substitutes for the Nicene faith. All the variations of Arianism had a downward tendency; they ultimately led (as logically they must) to the denial of the Godhead of the Son, and to its disastrous results, as to Faith and Practice, Sacraments and Worship.[2]

Besides, if the *Homo-ousion* of the Son of God had not been maintained by Athanasius, the controversy which was soon to arise on the Godhead of the Holy Ghost could never have had a right solution.[3]

If the Homo-ousion of the Son had been abandoned, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost's divinity would have perished in the shipwreck of the faith. If the creed of Nicæa had not been maintained by Athanasius, that of Constantinople would have been impossible. The Arians were the lineal forefathers of the Macedonians; and though Athanasius died eight years before the Council of Constantinople, which reaffirmed the Creed of Nicæa and added to it those words which assert the divinity of the Holy Ghost, yet virtually his faith, his courage, his patience, his wisdom, and his charity, and that of those who acted with him, were, under the Divine Blessing, the main causes of the victory of the Church in her Second general Synod in A.D. 381.

The same may be said with regard to the Apollinarian Heresy, which denied that Christ had a reasonable human soul, and which was condemned

[2] See above, vol. i. chap. xxvi.

[3] On the connexion of Arianism with Macedonianism, i.e. the denial of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, see the Letters of Athanasius to his friend and Brother Bishop Serapion, p. 517, ed. Bened. Patav. 1777, and the learned remarks of Montfaucon, Præf. p. xxx.

Digitized by Google

at Constantinople. This also he refuted by anticipation.[4]

7. A history of the Church can hardly satisfy the legitimate desires of faithful and thoughtful readers if it does not endeavour to take into account the working of divine grace by means of the Christian Sacraments, and if it does not note the effects of the lack of that grace.

In considering the relations of the first Christian Emperors to the Church there is much that is noteworthy in this respect. The first two Christian Emperors, Constantine and Constantius, seem to have had a craving appetite for dogmatism. To take the lead in settling controversies of faith, appears to have been to them an almost feverish passion. But unhappily for them and for the Church, neither of them had the benefit of that spiritual guidance and illumination which flow from Sacramental Grace, and from the moral dispositions preparatory to its reception.

Neither of them received Holy Baptism before the close of life. Neither of them had the benefit of the Eucharistic indwelling of that Divine Person and Presence, concerning Which they disputed with so much eagerness in the Synods of the Church. Constantine's delay of Baptism had something of superstitious formalism in it. He had been desirous, he said, of receiving Baptism in the waters of the same river in which his Saviour had been baptized.[5] Perhaps the Bishops of his court were not willing to administer Baptism without the previous Canonical Penance enjoined by the Church on one who had

[4] See his Epistle to Epictetus, p. 720, and his two books against Apollinarius, p. 733, 736, and Montfaucon, ibid. p. xxx.

[5] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 62.

Digitized by Google

perpetrated such crimes as the murder of his own son, Crispus, and his wife, Fausta. Perhaps in humility and remorse Constantine had scrupled to ask for Baptism till the time when he hoped to receive therein plenary remission of past sins, and to be exempt from the danger of falling into others.

Something of the same feeling may have operated on the mind of Constantius, whose accession to the throne had been stained by sanguinary assassinations of his nearest relatives,[6] and who encouraged those wild and frantic persecutions of the Catholics at Alexandria in the days of its Arian Bishops Gregory and George of Cappadocia, which equalled in barbarous outrages the most savage cruelties perpetrated on the Church by Heathenism in the days of Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian, and in some respects were far more disastrous, because they were perpetrated on Christians in the name of Christianity.

That Constantius should have been allowed by Christian Bishops to be swayed by such influences as have been described, and by the example and teaching of such partisans of Arianism as Eusebius, first Bishop of Berytus, then of Nicomedia—and thence translated to Constantinople—and that he should never have been subject to the discipline, and guided by the training of the Catholic Church, has been deplored by one of our greatest Theologians in his sketch of the history of these times.[7] And that Constantius should have been left destitute of that spiritual grace which, as the same writer has shown, is dispensed from above, through communion with our Divine

[6] Ammianus Marcellin. xxi. 6: "Inter imperandi exordia cunctos sanguine et genere se contingentes turpiter interemit."

[7] Hooker, Eccl. Pol., book v. chap. xliii.

Digitized by Google

Lord, Very God and Very Man, in Sacraments,[8] did not redound to the honour of those, especially Prelates of the Church, who were admitted to the nearest intimacy with him.

A noble contrast to Constantius and to these Bishops, was afterwards displayed by the greatest of Christian Emperors, Theodosius, and by one of the greatest of Christian Bishops, S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. Early in his imperial career, Theodosius was admitted to Christian Baptism.[9] His longing desires for the grace of the Holy Eucharist at the Festival of Christmas, after he had been debarred from it by salutary discipline administered by S. Ambrose at Milan,[1] and his generous testimony to the faithfulness and courage of the Bishop who rebuked him, are among the brightest examples in Church History; and it appears to have been a just honour reserved for that intrepid soldier of the Cross as well as in the battle-field, Theodosius, that he should have been made a chosen instrument of God's providence in summoning that Council—the Council of Constantinople, which delivered to the Church the Creed in which the true faith in the Ever-Blessed Trinity has sounded throughout the world from that day to the present hour.

8. The Church of God has been divinely appointed to operate upon the human heart, not only by the ministry of the Sacraments, but by that of Preaching.

In the age which we are now about to contemplate the Christian Pulpit exercised a power, unknown

[8] Ibid., book v. ch. l.—ch. lvii.

[9] A.D. 381, by Ascolius, Bishop of Thessalonica.

[1] A.D. 390, De obitu Theodosii, Sozomen, vii. 25.

Digitized by Google

since the time of the Apostles, and perhaps hardly equalled in any after-ages.

Gregory Nazianzen says in his oration on Athanasius,[2] that he was resisted and attacked by the most eloquent of Bishops, whose name he declines to mention. It is not quite certain who this Bishop was. Probably it was Eusebius himself, the Bishop of Cæsarea, the Ecclesiastical Historian, the friend and biographer of Constantine.

In estimating the dangers of the Church, and of the faith, we must not forget the influence of Preaching. The spirit of the world had found an entrance into the Pulpit. Some of the greatest of Christian orators had been pupils in the schools of heathen sophists and rhetoricians at Antioch, Nicomedia, Constantinople, and Athens; and the hyperbolical language of the Imperial Court, which gloried in such high-sounding titles as "illustres," "clarissimi," "perfectissimi,"[3] and which addressed the Emperor as "your Eternity," had a baneful influence on the Church.

It was fortunate for Athanasius that he had not been trained in such a discipline. He had been a careful student of Homer and Plato (as is evident from his Oration against the Heathen), and Demosthenes, as appears from the nervous energy of his style, and the incisive acumen of his sentences.[4] But Athanasius

[2] Orat. xxi. § 21.

[3] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xvii.; De Broglie, De l'Église et l'Empire, ii. 189, Paris, 1867, 5ème édition.

[4] See the Letter of Erasmus to the Bishop of Lincoln (John Longlands), quoted by Montfaucon, on the style of Athanasius, and Montfaucon's own excellent observations, pp. xxi and xxii of his edition Patav. 1777; and on Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Basil, who most resembles Athanasius. "Athanasius plerumque pressus ac brevis est, et majore sententiarum quam verborum ubertate. Longe præstat salibus, nervis, et τῷ ἐντόνῳ redundantiam omnem resecante."

Digitized by Google

was not ambitious of florid eloquence; Christian logic, and not secular rhetoric, was the weapon with which he fought.

Let us not judge harshly of Eusebius of Cæsarea, exposed to such intoxicating temptations as that of pronouncing before a great audience, at the consecration of one of the noblest Churches in Christendom, a panegyrical harangue on the piety of its Founder, the imperial Master of the world; and permitted to deliver an eulogy upon the Emperor in his own presence (who remained standing) in his palace at Constantinople.[5] Such trials to one who had lately emerged from the darkness of obscurity and the hardships of persecution, into a noonday blaze of court favour, dazzled the eye and made the brain dizzy. It was like the Tempter's display of the world's glory in the eyes of the Lord of all. It was too much for the temperament of Eusebius, and for some of his contemporary Prelates.

S. Jerome relates that the celebrated Christian Orator, Gregory of Nazianzus,[6] under whom he studied at Constantinople, and who was for a short time Bishop of that city, in answer to S. Jerome's question on the meaning of the difficult phrase in St. Luke's Gospel (vi. 1) *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον* ("the second Sabbath after the first") replied that he had rather

[5] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 45 and 46, and the Oration itself at the end of that Life.

[6] Nazian*zus*—this form is more correct than the one sometimes used now, Nazian*zum*. Theodoret has, in the feminine gender, *ἡ Ναζιανζὸς*, Eccles. Hist. v. 8.

The edition of Theodoret from which I quote is that of Schulze, Halis Saxonum, 1771, which contains references to the chapters as marked in the previous editions of Basle, Stephens, Christophorson, and Valesius, which has been reprinted by Dean Gaisford, Oxon. 1854.

Digitized by Google

explain it to him in the Church ; and that he would do it in such a manner that the people would applaud him.[7] The plaudits of the people were not wholesome to the preacher. "Non mihi plausum sed tibi planctum quæro," was the wise saying of another great Christian Orator.[8] A Greek or Asiatic audience was easily excited, and its sensibility was a danger for those who addressed it. The sight of the glancing pens of the shorthand writers eagerly taking down the sermon under the pulpit—the crowds pressing on the balustrades of the sanctuary in which he stood and preached—the burst of vehement emotion expressing itself by gestures, plaudits, and acclamations, these were a trying ordeal for the Christian orator at Constantinople and in other great cities of the East. In reading some of S. Gregory's orations, especially his panegyrical harangues on S. Athanasius himself, on S. Basil, on his own father, and others, we feel that the Preacher has been often carried away by the passions of his audience, and has been tempted to add fuel to the flame.

Nor was this the case only with the language of eulogy. The art of Rhetoric, practised at that time in the schools of this world's Eloquence by such persons as Libanius and Themistius, was sometimes abused in the Pulpit to gratify the ignobler feelings of anger and revenge. The Church echoed with Philippics. The sarcastic harangues of S. Gregory and S. Cyril of Alexandria against Julian, even after

[7] Jerome, Epist. xxxiv. ad Nepotian. Large historical collections on the subject of applause and acclamation—which passed from the Theatre to the Senate, and thence into the Church—may be seen in Suicer's "Thesaurus," *v.* κρότος, and in Bingham, Ant. xiv. 4. 27.

[8] S. Bernard.

Digitized by Google

his death, betrayed the weakness of hnman nature, swayed by the spirit of the world rather than of the Gospel.

To his honour be it spoken, we find no such abuse of the Christian Pulpit in the works of him whose temper was most sorely tried by the ill-treatment he received from worldly powers acting in the Church—Athanasius.

In speaking thus we must not forget the noble orations of S. Gregory himself at Constantinople in defence of the true faith in evil days, especially in those grand dogmatic sermons at Constantinople [9] which justly procured for him the title of "the Theologian;" nor can we ignore the magnificent discourses of his friend, S. Basil, at Cæsarea, on the marvels of the six days of Creation, and on the great articles of Christian Doctrine and Duty;[1] and of his brother, Gregory of Nyssa; and in the next age the inimitable ethical and spiritual homilies of S. John Chrysostom at Antioch and Constantinople, on the principal books of Holy Scripture, and on Christian belief and practice, which will never fail to minister delight and instruction to the faithful of every age and clime.

9. But to proceed. The Spirit of the World in the Church operated against the Faith by Arianism in its various phases; and Arianism enlisted on its side the discordant elements of Schism, Judaism, and Heathenism; and with these allies it warred against the Truth.

Schism was then represented by the Meletians in Egypt, and by the Donatists in Africa.

The Meletians derived their Episcopal Succession from Meletius, Bishop of Scythopolis, in the lower

[9] "On Theology"—see below, chapter viii.

[1] See below, chap. vii.

Digitized by Google

Thebaid, who had been excommunicated for apostasy and idolatry by St. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, about A.D. 302,[2] and had formed a schismatical sect against him and the Church. At the Council of Nicæa Meletius himself was deposed as the leader of the schism, but the Meletian Bishops were received to communion, and were allowed to retain their Episcopal dignity,[3] but not to exercise any Episcopal functions except in subordination to the Catholic Bishops, and to the authority of the Bishop of Alexandria. We shall see in the following pages that they were thorns in the side of Athanasius.

The rise of the Donatistic sectaries has been already described.[4] They also were enlisted by Arianism as its allies against him.

Nor did Arianism scruple to excite the Jews and Heathens to acts of violence and outrage against him and the faithful, especially at Alexandria.

10. Besides, as we shall see, the cause of Truth was damaged by failings in some of its leading adherents, by unsoundness in some articles of faith, or by excess of zeal and lack of wisdom and charity.

This was remarkably exemplified in the cases of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and of Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia.

Marcellus had been a courageous champion of the Church against the Sophist Asterius, and he was a fellow-labourer and fellow-sufferer with Athanasius in his conflicts and persecution. But he exposed him-

[2] S. Athanas. Apol. c. Arian. § 59. The edition of Athanasius to which I refer is that of the learned Benedictine Montfaucon, Patav. 1777, 4 vols. folio.

[3] Theodoret, i. 8; Socrat. i. 9.

[4] Above, vol. i. pp. 321, 401, 404, 408.

Digitized by Google

self to the charge of Sabellianism and Photinianism, and thus he created prejudice against the cause which he sought to defend against its Arian opponents.[5]

Lucifer of Cagliari was a bold and heroic confessor of the faith; but he injured the Church by his intemperate and passionate invectives against the Emperor Constantius, and by the rigorous severity with which he alienated those who might have been recovered to its communion from Arianism, and which betrayed him into the formation of a rival sect bearing his name, and not very different in its principles from the schisms of Novatianism and Donatism.[6]

11. But the Church had severer trials in the fall of Hosius, the Bishop of Corduba, in A.D. 357, and soon after it, of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, and in the total collapse of the Catholic Bishops at Ariminum[7] in A.D. 359.

Hosius had been a confessor in heathen persecution under Maximian; he had been the trusted friend and adviser of Constantine, and had taken the lead at the Nicene Council,[8] in framing the Nicene Creed; and had afterwards presided at the Council of Sardica, A.D. 344. By reason of his great age (he was more than a hundred years old at the time of his fall), his piety, learning, and dignity, he was regarded as the spiritual "Father of Bishops," as Athanasius calls him,[9] and of all Christendom.[10] But wearied out by a year's banishment, broken in health, and racked

[5] Epiphan. Hær. 72. S. Hilary, Frag. ii. p. 639, ed. Migne.

[6] See S. Jerome's dialogue c. Luciferianos, tom. iv. p. 300, ed. Bened. Paris, 1706; and below, p. 32.

[7] Rimini in Italy.

[8] See above, vol. i. pp. 402, 422, 447.

[9] Athanas. ad Monachos, § 46.

[10] See Hooker's description of him, book V. ch. xlii.

Digitized by Google

by torture, he at length, in A.D. 357, yielded to the threats and temptations of the Emperor, and subscribed at Sirmium a Creed framed by Valens, Ursacius, and Potamius, the bitter enemies of Athanasius, which expressly rejected the term *consubstantial*, and thus renounced in its vital point the faith of Nicæa. But he refused to condemn Athanasius. On these terms he obtained permission to return to his own country, where he soon afterwards died with words of remorse on his lips. According to Athanasius,[1] he protested on his death-bed that what he had done had been extorted from him by force; he then condemned the Arian heresy and delivered a solemn warning against it.

The fall of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, was probably accelerated by that of Hosius. But it was still more calamitous. Liberius had mourned over the lapse of his own Legate, Vincent, Bishop of Capua;[2] he had nobly resisted Constantius face to face at Milan, when the Emperor told him that he should consider a victory over Athanasius to be a nobler triumph than over any of his enemies in battle[3]—such as Magnentius or Silvanus. Liberius stood firm and defended Athanasius, and rejected all the overtures of the Emperor, and was banished by him to Berœa in Thrace.

But at length in A.D. 358, after two years' exile, he also was worn out by privation and hardship, and by threats of death.[4] He longed to return to Rome. Demophilus, Bishop of Berœa, was at his side, and

[1] Ibid. § 45.

[2] Hilar. Fragment vi. p. 676, where Liberius says, in writing to Hosius, that "he had resolved to die rather than follow his example."

[3] Theodoret, ii. 13.

[4] Ath. ad Mon. § 41.

Digitized by Google

tempted him to subscribe an Arian confession. In the words of a Roman Catholic Church Historian,[5] "Liberius renounced the communion of Athanasius, and embraced that of the Easterns, that is of the Arians. He addressed a letter to the Emperor in which he requested to be restored to his see. He also wrote thus to the Easterns, 'I do not defend Athanasius, whom I received to communion because my predecessor, Julius, Bishop of Rome, had done so. But now it has so pleased God that I am persuaded that you have condemned him justly, and I have at once assented to your judgment, and I reject him from communion. And since our brother Demophilus has proposed to me the true Catholic faith, which many of our brother Bishops have examined at Sirmium, I have accepted it willingly, and have nothing to say against it.'"

Liberius wrote also to his former Legate, Vincent, Bishop of Capua, who was in favour with the Emperor, to the same effect, and solicited his influence with Constantius, that he might be delivered from his exile and confinement, and return to his see at Rome; and he charged him to communicate to all the Bishops of Campania the contents of his letter. "Thus it was," adds Fleury, "that Liberius abandoned S. Athanasius, whose cause was inseparable from that of the true faith."[6]

12. But the most terrible calamity of all was the almost total prostration of the Catholic cause at Ariminum, A.D. 359, about two years before the death

[5] The Abbé Fleury, tom. iii. p. 468, ed. 1718.

[6] The details above inserted are supplied by S. Hilary, Frag. vi. ed. Bened. pp. 678—683, or tom. ii. pp. 688—695, ed. Migne, Paris, 1845. See also Athanas. Apo l. adv. Arianos, § 89, and ad Monachos, § 41.

Digitized by Google

of Constantius and the accession of Julian to the imperial throne.

The causes of this ruin will be narrated in their proper place in the following pages. Suffice it now to describe it in the words of three ancient authors.

S. Gregory Nazianzen, whose father was one who fell in that rout of the Episcopate, describes it as an earthquake; "all the Bishops became subject to the sway of time; other difference there was none among them, except that some fell away sooner than the rest, and some after the others; and that some were leaders in the band of impiety, and others were in the second rank, either cast down by fear, or enslaved by penury, or ensnared by flattery, or beguiled through simplicity—which was the most venial case of all."[7]

S. Jerome writes more fully as follows:—"When the Council of Ariminum (or Rimini) was over, all the Bishops returned with joy to their provinces. The Emperor (Constantius) and all good men had one common desire, that the East should be united with the West. But evil deeds do not long lie hid. A wound being ill scarred over soon discharges its purulent virus; Valens and Ursacius, and their Arian accomplices in impiety, vaunted their victory, and declared that in the Council of Rimini they had *not* denied the Son of God to be a *creature*, but only to be a creature *like other creatures*.

[7] S. Greg. Nazian. Orat. xxi. de Athan. § 24, p. 401, ed. Bened. Richard Hooker's celebrated description of the Council of Ariminum in book v. chap. xlii. is little more than a literal translation from Gregory Nazianzen, whose name is not mentioned by Hooker nor in any edition of Hooker's works. This is one of several similar instances in Hooker's writings; see above, vol. i. p. 282 and p. 387. And may I refer to my Introduction to the Psalms, p. xv, where Hooker's beautiful encomium on the Psalms is merely a paraphrase from S. Basil?

Digitized by Google

"Then it was that the word *substance* was abolished. Then the condemnation of the Nicene Faith was proclaimed to the world. The World groaned and was amazed to find itself Arian. Thereupon some remained within their own communion; others sent letters to those confessors who were in banishment for the name of Athanasius. Some mourned in despair over their own fellowship with heretics; others—as human nature is prone to do—defended their error as a deliberate act of judgment.

"The Apostolic Bark was in jeopardy, it was buffeted by winds, its timbers were beaten by waves. No hope was left. But the Lord awoke. The wild beast (Constantius) dies. Calm returns. The Bishops, banished from their sees, are restored by the clemency of the new Emperor (Julian). Egypt welcomes again her triumphant hero, Athanasius. The Churches of Gaul greet their own Hilary coming back from the battle-field of the faith. Italy puts off her mourning weeds at the return of Eusebius of Vercellæ. The Bishops who had been ensnared by the wiles of Ariminum, and who were regarded as heretics against their own conscientious convictions, protest by the Body of the Lord and by whatever is holy in the Church, that they had never dreamt of any evil in their own profession of faith. Our own good opinion of evil men, they said, deceived us."

After S. Jerome, S. Augustine thus wrote:[8]—"When Athanasius, that man of indomitable constancy and most holy faith, at a time when all the world had fallen from the faith of the Apostles, resisted the torrent of those evil times, and had therefore been driven into exile, scarcely seven (they say) of 650

[8] S. Augustine, Opus Imperfect. c. Julian. c. 75.

Digitized by Google

Bishops were found who loved the commandments of God rather than those of the Emperor, and who refused to agree to the condemnation of Athanasius, and to renounce the confession of the Trinity."

Such was the condition of the Church after the Council of Rimini.

13. Her peace under the Emperor Julian was not of long duration. It is probable that Julian's fall from the Christian faith in which he had been brought up was due to the acts of those who professed zeal for Christianity, and in its name were guilty of acts which even heathen Philosophy condemned. The strifes of the Church produced impiety on the Throne. The name of his Christian predecessor in the Empire, his own cousin, Constantius, the great imperial dogmatist, was especially odious to him. He had murdered the nearest kindred of Julian to make a clearer way for his own accession and that of his two brothers Constantine and Constans to the throne of the Cæsars. Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, who was a relative of Julian and had the charge of his early education, had shown himself to be swayed by worldly ambition. And with many other Bishops in high place, he had been leagued in vindictive hate and in a public conspiracy against Athanasius, in Councils of the Church. They had been confederate with Jews and Heathens against him. To Julian's philosophic indifference it was a matter of little interest, which party of the two,—Arians or Athanasians,—were in the right. He saw a bitter feud raging between them. The worldliness, the pride, the ambition, the malignity, the craftiness and cruelty of some in high place in the Church, helped to make Julian an apostate. He became a cruel persecutor in spite of his profes-

Digitized by Google

sions of toleration. Alexandria was a scene of riot and bloodshed. Christians were massacred by Heathens and Jews, and Julian looked calmly on, and banished Athanasius from his see.[9]

14. Athanasius had a presentiment that the storm of persecution under Julian would soon pass by.

But he was grievously disappointed when he saw that the calm which followed under Jovian, his imperial pupil, was still more short,—only eight months in duration—and was succeeded by the reign of Valens in the East, who, under the influence of his Arian wife, became another Constantius; and issued an edict that all Bishops who had been banished by Constantius, and who had returned under Julian, should be again driven from their sees.[1] Athanasius was again threatened with exile, but was spared in deference to the earnest wishes of his flock,[2] and perhaps to the remonstrances of Valentinian, the elder brother of Valens, and Catholic Emperor in the West; and at length, after an Episcopate of forty-seven years, he died in peace at Alexandria, on the 2nd of May, A.D. 373,[3] eight years before the Council of Constantinople in the second year of Theodosius the Great; which, though Athanasius did not live to see it, owed, under God, its life, its spirit, and its acts to him, and to which the whole Catholic Church is indebted, under her Divine Head, for the Creed by which she has now been united for 1500 years in professing the true faith.

[9] Theodoret, iii. 5. Socr. iii. 13, 14. Sozomen, v. 15, p. 104. Julian, Epist. 6, 26, 51.

[1] Sozomen, vi. 12.

[2] Socrat. iv. 13. Epiphan. Hær. 68.

[3] See Canon Bright's learned article on Athanasius, in Professor Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography, i. p. 202.

Digitized by Google

15. Much has been recently written on what have been called Ecclesiastical Miracles.[4] The "luminous Cross of Constantine;" the "discovery of the Cross" by his mother Helena at Jerusalem; the sudden death of Arius at Constantinople on the eve of an expected victory; the other "luminous Cross" reaching from Calvary to Olivet, at Whitsuntide, in the time of S. Cyril; the fiery eruption and other phenomena which frustrated the Emperor Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem; the cures said to have been wrought at Milan in the Episcopate of S. Ambrose in the presence of the relics of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius;—these, and other similar events, have been made subjects of controversy, and have been minutely scrutinized, and have been judged in different manners by persons of different bias.

But perhaps among the miracles recorded in the history of the fourth century, the greatest miracle of all, a miracle which none can gainsay, is the Episcopal life of Athanasius.

That Episcopal life was extraordinary in its circumstances and consequences. It was continued for nearly fifty years, in almost every one of which it was exposed to imminent peril from powerful enemies. It was productive of beneficial effects which have endured for 1500 years, and have been extended to every clime. Some may be content with calling it providential; be it so: but what we may venture to say is, that it has no parallel of a similar kind in the person of one man since the times of the holy Apostles; and it is one of the most striking evidences of

[4] E.g. by Cardinal Newman, in his translation of portions of the Abbé Fleury's Church History (1842); and by many others.

Digitized by Google

the truth of Christ's promise that the gates of hell shall never prevail against His Church.

The history of the interval between the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople is virtually summed up in the Episcopate of Athanasius. He is the central figure in it. It is his history. He was a personified Creed. Many who were Arians at heart,—even Arius himself,—endeavoured to deceive others by professing themselves believers in the Nicene faith; but while they did this, they associated with the enemies and accusers of Athanasius, and thus they unmasked themselves. His name was the touchstone of their faith. They were detected by it. He bore a charmed life. To outside observers he seemed to have not only the sagacity of a politician and the shrewdness of a lawyer, but the supernatural art of a Magician.[5] The rulers of the world set a price on his head. Constantius said that he had rather conquer Athanasius, than triumph over his deadliest foe. Julian ordered his death.[6] Obadiah's language concerning Elijah the prophet might be applied to Athanasius,[7] and it might almost be added that when he was sought for, "the Spirit of the Lord carried him" whither men knew not. When Syrianus attacked his Church at Alexandria with a large military force on the night of Feb. 8, A.D. 356, he sat down

[5] The heathen historian Ammianus Marcellinus says, xv. 7, "Dicebatur (Athanasius) fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæque augurales portenderent alites, scientissimè callens, aliquoties prædixisse futura." The story that he used the dead hand of Arsenius for magical purposes is significant. Egypt, and especially Alexandria, was famous then, as now, for its adepts in witchcraft, sorcery, and curious arts. As to his legal ability, see Sulp. Severus, ii. 36, "Athanasium *jurisconsultum*."

[6] Above, p. 23, note 9. Rufin. i. 34. Theodoret, iii. 5.

[7] 1 Kings xviii. 10.

Digitized by Google

on his Episcopal throne and ordered the Deacon to read a Psalm (the 136th), and the people to respond "for His mercy endureth for ever."[8] The soldiers rushed in with a war-cry, and with the clashing of arms; arrows flew and swords were brandished. Some of the people were trampled down on the ground and wounded. Athanasius would not retire until he had done all in his power to save them; and then he was carried away by the Clergy, and glided unperceived through the midst of his enemies.

Under the Emperor Julian, in A.D. 363, he met his pursuers on the Nile, as they came from Alexandria; they accosted him, and asked for Athanasius. "He is close by" was the answer; and he quietly passed by them and entered the city, where he remained safe till Julian's death.[9]

Often had he been tracked by his pursuers among the monasteries of Egypt, but he was marvellously preserved from them. He was like those of whom the Apostle writes, "they wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."[1] In the forty-seven years of his Episcopate, he was four times driven into banishment; to Treves in Gaul, to Rome and other cities of Italy, to Illyria, into the wilds and solitudes of the desert of Egypt. The time of these four banishments amounted on the whole to about twenty years. He was brought before Councils and Kings for Christ's sake. He was in perils by sea and by land, in the city and in the wilderness, and among false brethren. He was deprived of all his powerful protectors in turn: first of Constantine, the eldest western Emperor; then of Constans, the

[8] Athanas. Hist. Arian. § 31.

[9] Theodoret, iii. 5.

[1] Heb. xi. 38.

Digitized by Google

youngest; then of his faithful and loving brother-Bishop, Julius of Rome. Constantius, the Emperor of the East, having persecuted him for a time, relented and confessed his innocence—like Saul persecuting David. But soon afterwards his love turned into more bitter hate; and when he became Emperor of the whole Roman world, after the death of Constans his brother, he persecuted him more violently than before.

Athanasius saw all the greatest Episcopal Sees of Christendom occupied successively by Arians, some of them his most bitter enemies: his own See of Alexandria by the two Cappadocian heresiarchs, Gregory and George; the See of Antioch held by six heretical Bishops in succession, the last two being the notorious Leontius and Eudoxius; the See of Constantinople by the leader of the Arian faction, Eusebius of Nicomedia; by Macedonius, the enemy of the Holy Spirit, and the author of the heresy which denied His Divinity; and by the arch-heretic, Eudoxius, and by Demophilus of Berœa, who tempted Liberius to his fall; the See of Jerusalem deprived of its Bishop Cyril by Acacius, the heretical Metropolitan of Cæsarea. He saw the Episcopal Patriarch of Christendom, the venerable champion of the Nicene faith, Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, renouncing the Creed which he had framed, and accepting in its place the Arian formula of Sirmium. He saw Liberius, Bishop of Rome, purchasing his return from banishment by subscribing an Arian formula, and a condemnation of Athanasius himself. Lastly, he saw the almost universal shipwreck of the Catholic Episcopate in the Council of Rimini.

These things Athanasius saw. But he was not

Digitized by Google

moved. He would not accept one of the numerous compromises which were offered him by flattery or by force in lieu of the Creed of Nicæa, which declared the Son of God to be of one substance with the Father. He saw, and he almost alone among the Bishops of Christendom saw—with something more than the keen eye of a clear and sagacious logic—he perceived by the grace of spiritual illumination, that on the maintenance of the Nicene doctrine of the Godhead of the Son, of one substance with the Father, depended the doctrine of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit also, and the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity—three divine, co-equal, co-eternal, consubstantial Persons and one God. The result of his constancy and courage was, that in the next century after Athanasius Arianism was extinct. Augustine could then say that Arianism, which had filled the world, was "rejected by the world," and was like a "putrid corpse."[2]

The Catholic Church, and the Spirit of God dwelling in the Catholic Church, have now for 1500 years confirmed the judgment of Athanasius.

His earliest theological treatise—that against the Heathen, in which he uttered that noble sentence, that "polytheism is atheism"[3]—had prepared him for his conflict with Arianism, which destroyed the Unity of the Godhead, and led logically to Polytheism, and so eventually to Atheism, by introducing a second inferior Deity in the person of the Son, and another in the Holy Ghost.

Next, his treatise on the Incarnation shows that he had fathomed the depths of that doctrine, and of

[2] S. Augustine, vi. p. 198 (ed. Paris, 1836), "Ariani toto orbi abjecti;" and iii. p. 2081, "Ariana hæresis similis cadaveri putrescenti."

[3] Orat. c. Gent. § 38.

Digitized by Google

Christ's Godhead, and that he had fully realized its bearings on the whole scheme of Divine Grace and human redemption,[4] and had qualified him to encounter with success the heresy which impugned those doctrines.

Athanasius argued from the worship of the Church that Arianism was virtually condemned by it. "It is not lawful to adore a creature; and it is not only lawful to worship God, but it is necessary to worship Him, and to worship Him alone. The Catholic Church adores Christ; therefore Christ is not a creature, and must be God."[5] His theological studies as a Deacon bore fruit in his Episcopate.

But it was not merely the learning, courage, and matchless fortitude, which made the life and ministry of Athanasius a worthy subject for careful meditation and for devout study, and for loving thankfulness to God for having endued him with those virtues, and which render it exemplary to the Church in every age and country; it was also his wisdom and patience, his kindness and his charity, which entitle him to admiration.

S. Gregory Nazianzen says[6] that Athanasius "blended the properties of two precious stones, and was a diamond to those who struck him, and a magnet to those who differed from him." Gregory[7] refers specially to his conciliatory spirit and love of peace. "This (says he) is preferable to many vigils, and to nights spent in lying on the ground, which things terminate with those who use them. This

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 424, and on its relation to the doctrine of the Christian Sacraments, ibid. p. 428.

[5] See Athanas. Orat. ii. c. Arian. § 23, § 24.

[6] Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. § 31, p. 406.

[7] Orat. xxi. § 36, p. 410.

Digitized by Google

peaceable spirit was not of less value than all his banishments. After those afflictions he devoted himself to the things for which he had suffered them. He laboured for the sake of others. Some he praised, others he gently reproved; he stimulated the sluggishness of some, and restrained the heat of others; he prevented some from falling, and raised others who had fallen. Simple in his life, multiform in his art of governing; wise in words, wiser in mind; walking, as it were, on foot with the lowly, soaring on high with the lofty; a lover of strangers, suppliant, an averter of evils; a lover of the married and unmarried; a lover of peace; a reconciler of enemies, an escort to all who are travelling onward from earth to heaven."

There was no fanaticism in his heroism. He knew when to retire, and when to resist. He was great and noble not only in fight, but in flight. His apology for his own withdrawal from the storm [8] is full of wisdom. His replies to the allegations of his enemies who drove him from his see by their cruel outrages at Alexandria, exhibit specimens of that readiness in raillery and repartee for which he was famous. "They charge me with cowardice in flying; not that they wish me well, or desire me to be a brave man, and stand my ground; but because they hope that through fear of such a reproach, I may remain where I am and may fall into their hands. They are not ashamed of their sanguinary deeds, but they grieve that I have not fallen a victim to them; and yet they charge me with pusillanimity, forgetting that if it is a bad thing to fly, it is still worse to persecute." [9]

[8] P. 253, ed. Bened. 1777.

[9] Apol. pro Fugâ, § 2 and § 8.

Digitized by Google

S. Augustine well refers to it[1] "as displaying the special conditions under which such flight is not only allowable, but laudable. When the Emperor Constantius specially sought to apprehend him, he felt how necessary to the Church his own life was, and he left others in charge to minister to his flock, which he hoped to revisit and feed."

His forbearance and gentleness were beyond all praise. When others, his best friends and adherents, were betrayed into passionate invectives and vindictive reprisals against those who deserted the ranks of orthodoxy, S. Athanasius was more eager to make allowance and to devise excuses for them. S. Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, when recording the fall of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, and his subscription of an Arian formula, and his condemnation of Athanasius, could not restrain himself from exclaiming with vehement indignation, "Here is Arian perfidy! Anathema to thee, O Liberius! Twice and thrice anathema, O prevaricator Liberius, to thee!"[2]

But Athanasius wrote[3] calmly on the same unhappy defection, and showed more pity for Liberius than sorrow for himself, who was deserted and condemned by him. And in the same loving spirit he pleaded for his aged friend[4], Hosius, Bishop of Corduba. He regarded his act of desertion as due rather to the sins of the persecutor who forced him to it, than to the weakness of the veteran who was the victim of his rage, and he cast a veil over his fault with the tenderness of filial love.

[1] In his Epistle to Honoratus on flight in persecution, S. Aug. Epist. 228. Probably Athanasius remembered the example of Cyprian.

[2] S. Hilary, Frag. vi. p. 678, ed. Bened.

[3] Ad Monachos, § 41, § 42.

[4] Ibid. § 42.

Digitized by Google

In a similar spirit of forbearance he dealt with those Bishops who had lapsed at Rimini from the faith. His valiant and impetuous friend and fellow-Confessor Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, hastened to Antioch in the year 362 in order to decide the question "What was to be done with those who had lapsed into heresy in persecution such as that under Constantius?" This was not a new subject for inquiry. It had been considered in the days of Dionysius of Alexandria and of S. Cyprian in the third century,[5] and at the Council of Nicæa.

Lucifer did not profit by the experience of the past; he allowed himself to be goaded on by passionate zeal against error, rather than to be guided by compassionate love for the erring. He would not re-admit to Communion any of those who had lapsed at Rimini; he disallowed and branded their ministrations with the stigma of infamy, and thus he brought disgrace on himself by giving his name to a schism.

But S. Athanasius, with the Council of Alexandria under his presidency, followed a different course, and received those into Communion who had been surprised into error by fraud, or compelled by violence, on the condition of their renouncing the error and confessing the true faith.[6]

Here also we may recognize another cause for thankfulness to the Great Head of the Church, Who brings good out of evil, and overrules evil for good. Athanasius after Rimini instructs us as well as at Nicæa.

[5] See above, vol. i. pp. 313, 317, 321, 455 of the present work.

[6] S. Athanas. Epist. ad Rufinianum, p. 768. S. Hieron. c. Lucifer. c. 7.

Digitized by Google

HOBART HALL, AT UNIV. OF MICH.

16. The duration of his four banishments, as has been said, amounted on the whole to about twenty years.

But in them also was a providential dispensation.

They were like the imprisonments of St. Paul, which produced the Apostolic Epistles. They gave him leisure to write; not only to compose theological treatises for the instruction of every age of the Church, but they gave him ample time also to compose his historical works. The Church would probably have known little of her own existence in that eventful period, if she had not possessed the *historical* writings of Athanasius.

Eusebius, the Church historian, though he lived for about fifteen years after the Council of Nicæa, contributes scarcely anything to the internal history of that period. He was dazzled by the imperial splendour of Constantine, whose life he writes, and seems not to have much discernment for other persons or things.

Those historical works of Athanasius—his Apologia to the Emperor Constantius, and on his own flight from Alexandria; his Epistle to Serapion on the death of Arius; his history of the Arians addressed to the Monks; his Epistle to the African Bishops; his Epistles on the decrees of Nicæa, and on the Synods of Ariminum and Seleucia—contain not only narratives of the principal events of the times, but the most important documents of Councils and Cabinets, and are of more value than all the histories of the period; and without them the historical works of Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, writing in the fifth century, could never have been composed.

It has been alleged, indeed,[7] that the reader is too

[7] By Gibbon, ch. xxi. p. 362.

Digitized by Google

favourably biassed on the side of Athanasius on this account. He is himself the historian of his own times, and we have only the fragmentary remains of Philostorgius to represent the side of Arianism. But it must be remembered that Athanasius, with a wise foresight, has taken care to guard himself against imputations of partiality, and to corroborate his own historical narrative by public documents (*pièces justificatives*), such as Imperial Rescripts, Episcopal Letters, and Synodical Decrees. Also, Eusebius, who wrote the life of Constantine after the accession of Constantius, and was not friendly to Athanasius, never breathes a syllable against him. And Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen were learned and good men, and wrote when party-spirit had subsided.

Athanasius is therefore justly regarded, not only as the Great Theologian, but the principal Historian, of the Church after Eusebius; and this was mainly due to his banishments, which gave him time to write what he did.

It is well said by the learned Benedictine Montfaucon,[8] the editor of his works, that "Athanasius is greatly to be preferred to all historians of his time, inasmuch as he was an eye-witness of what he relates, and narrates events most accurately, and often adduces the official documents, which are irrefragable; whereas other writers of that history, such as Ruffinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, are to be used with the greatest caution, inasmuch as they often affirm what is uncertain, and frequently confound events, and mix them up without any chronological order."

17. Nor was this all. As has been already noticed,[9] the early Church of Rome was not strong in theology.

[8] Pref. to Ath. Apol. p. 96.

[9] Vol. i. p. 290.

Digitized by Google

But Alexandria was more fortunate. Her Catechetical School had many learned teachers and scholars. The "Throne of St. Mark" at Alexandria had been occupied by great divines. Athanasius by hereditary descent was pointed out for the Teacher of the Church. It is not too much to say that he was the greatest master of theology as a science that the world has seen since the days of the Apostles.

It was a happy thing for the West that Athanasius was brought by his banishment into the cities of Italy and Gaul,—Rome, Milan, Aquileia, and Treves.

His sojourn in those cities rescued the West from Arianism. The Emperors of the West, Constantine the Second, and Constans, his younger brother, were strengthened by Athanasius in the faith, and showed their gratitude to him. And the Western Bishops, Julius and Liberius of Rome, Eusebius of Vercellæ, Hilary of Poictiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, and the Bishops assembled at Sardica in A.D. 344, were strengthened by his presence and counsel.

It is not too much to say that the spirit of Athanasius reproduced itself not only in the East, in the Episcopate of S. Basil at Cæsarea (especially in his bold resistance to Valens, the Arian persecutor) and in the lives and acts of Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa; but also animated S. Ambrose at Milan in his defence of the Catholic faith in the West against Valentinian the Second, and his Arian mother Justina.

18. A superficial reader of this portion of Church History, as related in the pages of Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates, and of some modern historians may probably be distracted by it. Acts of imperial tyranny and caprice, strifes of Bishops with Bishops

Digitized by Google

and Councils against Councils, in an ever-varying succession of formularies of faith; malignity, injustice, and treachery in the Church of God ;—these, and such things as these, may perplex and stagger him, and he may turn away from such a scene of confusion with weariness and distress.

But not so the thoughtful student. The contemplation of the long and cruel sufferings of one of the world's greatest heroes and benefactors—such Athanasius was—and his final and glorious victory, and that of his cause, will silence all querulous repining in the worst times of the Church, and will be fraught with instruction and encouragement.

It will teach patient endurance; it will show that they who would be faithful witnesses of God and His truth, must not look nor wish for contemporary praise; but must rather expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by their own age; and it will inspire hope and trust in the future triumph of the Church.

The manifold variations of Arian Creeds, and their ultimate downfall, may serve to show that there is no safe standing-ground for those who do not receive the doctrine of Christ's Godhead as taught by Athanasius.

The resort of the Arians to the Civil power in their struggles, and their distrust of genuine Church Synods, will also not be without use in these latter days.

19. Even the bitter strifes of the time, and the eager and pertinacious hostility of his persecutors, will not be unprofitable, as showing that the question at issue was regarded by both sides as one of paramount importance.

Digitized by Google

And in the present day it will be well to remember that there was no difference between these contending parties on other matters of vital importance. Arians no less than Athanasians were agreed in the belief of the Truth and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; and they had the same Canon of Scripture;[1] they received it as God's Word, and appealed to it as such. They were of one mind as to the need of Sacraments. They were all united in recognizing the three Orders of Ministers in the Church.

They were zealous in the building of Christian Churches,[2] and for Christian Missions; they were neither Gnostics nor Agnostics; and we may well believe that if they had seen what the Church now sees, namely, the universal reception of the Nicene Creed, they would not have been Arians.

Let us not judge the partisans of Arianism too harshly. There were good and pious men among them, who were unconscious Arians; much allowance is to be made for the fervour of the Greek and Asiatic temperament; and, if we may so speak, the slough of heathenism had not been yet cast off from many among them. They had been familiar with acts of violence and bloodshed; and the Spirit of gentleness and meekness had settled in the minds of few among the leaders on either side of the controversy.

If also we are perplexed not only by the cruelties but by the calumnies of the enemies of Athanasius,

[1] The Council of Laodicea (A.D. 363?), which is of primary authority as to the Canon of Scripture, was probably a Semi-Arian Synod; see below, ch. vi. The Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, which framed many important decrees, received by the Universal Church, contained also many Arian Bishops.

[2] Several of the Arian Creeds were connected with the dedication of Churches at Jerusalem and Antioch.

Digitized by Google

Chorepiscopi
On Appeals of Bishops; on Consecra
Death of Eusebius of Nicomedia
Hopes of peace; destroyed by the te
Correspondence between the Coun
Bishop of Rome
Judgment of Julius on the Synod of
Remonstrance against the Council at
Appeal to Constans
Letter of Athanasius to Constantius
The Westerns maintain the Nicene
The Macrostich
Council of Sardica
Pronounce in favour of Atha
accuses
Or Appeals to Julius Bishop of Ro
Canons of Sardica
The Dendrites
Council of Antioch
The Eastern Arians at Philippopoli
The East divided against the West,
Fire against Theodotus and Euphra
Temporary change in the conduct of
Deeds of Gregory the usurping Bish
Letter of Julius to the Church
Athanasius
Letters of Constantius in his favour
He complains severely to Athanasius
His wrath, Theodotus and Valens re
Their wrath spares
Death of Constans

Digitized by Google

st of the storm that raged in the
ndria, during the sacrilegious and
petrated there by the Cappadocian
ismatical Bishop George,[5] and his
uietly remained in his Episcopal
d the Deacon and people to sing
"His mercy endureth for ever."
in his letter to his friend Marcel-
devote yourself to the study of all
res, particularly of the Psalms. I
you for this; my earnest desire
Book, as also toward the rest of

uned constantly with God in prayer
nd in his Holy Sacraments, we know,
piritual delight, when wearied with
by persecution, he resorted to the
those holy men who lived a life of
monastic solitudes of Nitria and
It was also his spirit of modesty
deeming lightly of himself and his
hardly conscious of their existence,
more desirous of divine grace, and
to receive it.[8] He united child-

onst. § 23; Apol. de Fugâ, § 24; ad Monachos,

Marcellinus, p. 784. Some extracts from it are
ion to the Psalms, p. iii and p. xiv. S. Augustine
the Psalms to be recited to him rather than
33.
pp. 430—434, on his connexion with the hermit

his Epistle prefixed to his History of the Arians
), after some theological utterances concerning the
an introduction to what he had written on the

en according to my ability; but accept it, not as

Digitized by Google

let us remember that a love of truth was almost the hardest lesson for Greeks and Asiatics to learn.

20. Even the failure of great Bishops of the Church at that time has also its instruction for us.

The fall of Hosius may remind us that the greatest of saints are not a rule of life. Only the Divine Head of the Church, speaking in His Holy Word, as interpreted by the Spirit in the Church Universal, is the Guide of Faith.

The fall of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, from orthodoxy into Arianism, and into a condemnation of Athanasius, might, if duly pondered in the present age, have saved the Church of Rome from the heretical Vatican Decree—of July 18th, 1870—affirming the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff; and it may save some among us from building their faith on that quicksand.

Even the accusation brought against Athanasius in the matter of Ischyras, ordained by Colluthus,[3] may remind the student of Church History, that (where Bishops exist) Presbyterian Ordinations received no sanction from Athanasius and the ancient Catholic Church; and that Ordinations by those who have not been ordained even by Presbyters would have been strongly condemned by them.

21. Once more, it will be profitable to consider what was the source of the strength of Athanasius. It was his continual communion with God especially in the Holy Scriptures. S. Gregory Nazianzen says[4] that Athanasius knew more of both Testaments than other persons knew of one. His love, and daily study of God's Word and of the Psalter especially, was an inexhaustible well-spring to him of divine

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 447.

[4] Orat. xxi. § 6.

Digitized by Google

grace. In the midst of the storm that raged in the Church at Alexandria, during the sacrilegious and cruel outrages perpetrated there by the Cappadocian heresiarch, the schismatical Bishop George,[5] and his accomplices, he quietly remained in his Episcopal throne, and ordered the Deacon and people to sing the 136th Psalm, "His mercy endureth for ever." "I hear (says he, in his letter to his friend Marcellinus[6]) that you devote yourself to the study of all the Holy Scriptures, particularly of the Psalms. I greatly praise you for this; my earnest desire is toward that Book, as also toward the rest of Scripture."

That he communed constantly with God in prayer and meditation, and in his Holy Sacraments, we know, and with what spiritual delight, when wearied with toil and harassed by persecution, he resorted to the quiet retreats of those holy men who lived a life of devotion in the monastic solitudes of Nitria and Upper Egypt.[7] It was also his spirit of modesty and meekness, deeming lightly of himself and his own powers, and hardly conscious of their existence, which made him more desirous of divine grace, and better qualified to receive it.[8] He united child-

[5] Ath. Apol. ad Const. § 23; Apol. de Fugâ, § 24; ad Monachos, § 81.

[6] See his Epistle to Marcellinus, p. 784. Some extracts from it are given in my Introduction to the Psalms, p. iii and p. xiv. S. Augustine says that he required the Psalms to be recited to him rather than sung. Confessions, x. 33.

[7] See above, vol. i. pp. 430—434, on his connexion with the hermit S. Antony.

[8] See, for example, his Epistle prefixed to his History of the Arians (p. 272, ed. Ben. 1777), after some theological utterances concerning the divine nature, and as an introduction to what he had written on the subject:—

"Thus have I written according to my ability; but accept it, not as

Digitized by Google

like simplicity and playful cheerfulness, with philosophic wisdom, theological science, political sagacity, saintly piety, and heroic magnanimity.

22. In fine, this portion of Church History may teach Churchmen of the present age the wholesome lesson of humility. By setting before us the example of Athanasius, it may make us ashamed of our self-indulgences, and of our compromises of vital truths for ease and popularity. It may make us feel our own littleness and shortcomings in the presence of so grand an example, and it may show us where true strength is to be found—not in ourselves, but in Him Whose we are.

The history of the Ante-Nicene age is the history of the World against the Church; the history of the Post-Nicene age is the history of the World in the Church. The former history has already manifested to us that the World is powerless against the Church of Christ, and led her on to glorious victories when she looked upward to her Divine Head for help and guidance, and relied on Him. And the history now before us will show, that although the World working in the Church is more to be dreaded than the World acting against her; yet it is also equally powerless, and will lead her on to no less illustrious triumphs, if the World be resisted and encountered by those Christian virtues and graces which shone so brightly in Atha-

a perfect explanation of the Godhead of the Word, but as a help for the refutation of error, and for the reception of truth; and if I have omitted anything (and indeed I fear that everything has been omitted by me), pardon me, I pray you, and accept my bold endeavour for piety, and when you have read it pray for me, and exhort one another to do so; and send me back what I have written; and do not take a copy, nor allow any one to do so. For it is not safe for the writings of one who is like a lisping babe, and unlearned as I am, to go down to posterity."

He uses similar language of humility in his letter to Serapion, p. 271.

Digitized by Google

nasius. Above all, the reader will feel assured, that Christ, Who strengthened and comforted Athanasius in his labours and sufferings for forty-seven years, will never fail those who believe, love, and obey Him, and that His promise to His children is ever true, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."

Let us now proceed to the history.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

From the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, *and the consecration of Athanasius, to the death of the Emperor Constantine, May* 22, A.D. 337.

NOT quite five months after the Council of Nicæa, the See of Alexandria became vacant by the decease of its Bishop, Alexander.[1]

On his death-bed he was asked to name his successor. "Athanasius" was the reply. Athanasius himself was not present, but another person bearing that name was, who answered to the call.

But the aged Bishop took no heed of him, and repeated the name "Athanasius" several times. "O Athanasius," rejoined the dying Prelate, "thou thinkest to escape by flight, but thou wilt not be able to do so."[2]

The date of his consecration is not quite certain.[3] It was probably in the summer of A.D. 326. The Bishops who assembled at Alexandria were not unanimous; but the acclamations of the people pre-

[1] Athan. Apol. c. Arian. § 59.

[2] Sozomen, ii. 17.

[3] According to the Festal Letters published in 1848 by the late Canon Cureton from a Syriac Version found at Nitria, his first Pastoral Epistle was published A.D. 329, and this has led some (De Broglie, Hist. de l'Église, ii. 287) to place his consecration in A.D. 328. But this is doubtful; cp. Canon Bright (Wace, Dict. p. 182). On the Festal Epistles (or Easter Pastorals), see Montfaucon, Præf. ad Athanas. p. xxiv.

Digitized by Google

vailed, and Athanasius was consecrated to the vacant see.[4]

Four years passed away in peace. Some of his earliest acts were of a missionary character. The Episcopate of Abyssinia—which has been preserved to the present day—owes its origin to him.

Perhaps some preparations had been made in Apostolic times for the reception of the Gospel there by the conversion of the Treasurer of Candace, Queen of Æthiopia, by Philip the Evangelist.[5] Frumentius, a Christian of Tyre, and his brother Ædesius, were taken prisoners, and were brought to the king, whose favour they obtained, and were advanced to high places in the realm. Frumentius came to Alexandria, and reported to Athanasius the success of his endeavours to spread the Gospel in that country; he was consecrated by Athanasius, and sent back to build up the Church, of which he had laid the foundation.[6]

Another example of the working of divine Providence, overruling the evils of War and Slavery for the spreading of Christianity, was seen in the history of the Goths making inroads into the territory of the Roman Empire, and carrying away as prisoners many Christians, both lay and clerical, by whose agency the Gospel was propagated among the Gothic and Germanic tribes.[7] The celebrated *Ulphilas* (a name

[4] Epist. Synod. in Apol. c. Arian. § 6. Sozomen, ii. 17. Epiphan. Hær. 68.

[5] Acts viii. 27.

[6] Rufin. i. 9. Theodoret, i. 23. Socr. i. 19. Sozomen, ii. 24. The Eastern Church honours his memory on Nov. 30, the Western on Oct. 27.

[7] Philostorg. ii. 5. Among the subscriptions to the Council of Nicæa is that of Theophilus, "Bishop of the Goths." The simplicity and purity of manners among the Gothic tribes, as contrasted with the Romans, is described in striking language by Salvian, De Gubernatione

Digitized by Google

Latinized from the Germanic Wolf), Bishop of the Goths (whose acts will be described more fully hereafter in the history of the Emperor Valens[8]), is said to have held that position as early as the reign of Constantine,[9] and to have been at that time a believer and teacher of the faith as professed in the Creed of Nicæa.

Other missionary enterprises were undertaken at the same time. Christianity was propagated in Gaza and other cities of southern Palestine, and in the Phœnician towns of the north.[1]

Constantine is also entitled to the honour of promoting these missions. He extended his religious zeal to Persia, and wrote a letter to Sapor, king of that country; in which he declared the benefits he himself had received from Christ, and he exhorted him to accept the Gospel,[2] and to encourage those who believed it.

The pious zeal of Constantine was also happily exercised in the multiplication of copies of the Holy Scriptures, and in the building of Churches.

At the present day, among the treasures of imperial, royal, and ecclesiastical Libraries, a single Greek

Dei, vii. 11, 23: "Jam apud Gothos impudici non sunt nisi Romani. Quæ Romano statui spes esse potest, quando castiores barbari quam Romani sunt? Nos morum nostrorum vitia vicerunt." Christianity with its vigorous freshness seems to have worked wonders on these Gothic neophytes, and in this change much was due to the zeal of Ulphilas. Cp. Baur, Kirchen-Geschichte, ii. p. 13, and the works of Kraft, Rettberg, and Giesebrecht, cited by him.

[8] Below, chap. vii.

[9] Philostorg. ii. 5. Socr. ii. 41. It has been supposed by some (e.g. Abp. Trench, Study of Words, p. 130) that the *Greek* origin of the word *Kirk, Church*, &c., is to be ascribed to the influence of the Easterns on the *Goths*, and through them on the German tribes.

[1] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 37—39. Socr. i. 18.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 8—13.

Digitized by Google

Codex of the Bible is justly regarded as most precious; such as the Sinaitic Manuscript in the possession of the Emperor of Russia, and the Codex Alexandrinus given by a Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucar, to our own King Charles the First, and now in the British Museum; and the Codex Vaticanus in the Pontifical Library at Rome. None of these are more ancient than the fourth century. And in the first half of that century Constantine ordered Eusebius,[3] Bishop of Cæsarea, at one and the same time to provide at the charge of the imperial exchequer, and to send to him by two public carriages, not less than fifty copies of the Scriptures, on parchment, in large legible character, that is, in what we call "uncial letters." These were written under the eye of Eusebius in *ternions* and *quaternions*,[4] and were sent by him to the Emperor for public use in the Churches built by him at Constantinople alone. Constantine's example in this respect was imitated by his son Constans, who desired Athanasius to send him from Alexandria some manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures.[5]

Constantine was a munificent builder of Churches; at Constantinople, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Rome; at Ostia, at Capua,[6] and in other great cities of the Empire. He also promoted the moral welfare of his subjects, by destroying those temples where the most

[3] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 36, 37.

[4] So that each ternion had twelve columns, and each quaternion sixteen—according to Valesius, ibid.

[5] Apol. ad Const. § 4. Montfaucon, Vit. Ath. p. xxxvii. It would be an interesting subject for inquiry how far these two consignments of Uncial Manuscripts influenced the Eastern and Western Recensions, which are analyzed in the learned remarks of Canon Westcott and Dr. Hort in their edition of the Greek Testament, 1881.

[6] Euseb. ibid. iii. 47, 50. Anastas. Bibl. in Fleury, iii. 166.

Digitized by Google

licentious impurities were practised and consecrated in the name, and on the plea, of religious worship.[7] He erected Christian Churches on the sites of some of them, such as the temple of Venus at Jerusalem, which profaned the Holy Sepulchre itself.

Constantine also liberally supplied funds to his mother Helena for the execution of her pious works in the Holy Land;[8] at Jerusalem, on the Mount of Olives, and at Bethlehem; and for the work of his mother-in-law Eutropia (the mother of Fausta) at the Oak of Mamre, near Hebron.[9]

The visit of Helena to the Holy Land was probably in A.D. 327. Jerusalem was its principal object; and at Jerusalem the Holy Sepulchre. But the tradition of its site was obscure and uncertain. The Christians did not visit a place which—as already stated—was occupied by the Temple of Venus, and polluted by lewd idolaters. However, she was led by various motives[1] to destroy that temple, and to clear away the rubbish from beneath it; and it is related that the grotto of the Holy Sepulchre was then revealed to view. "Behold," she said, "the place of the conflict; but where is the trophy of the victory?"[2] It is said that three crosses[3] of wood were found. But which was the Cross on which the Saviour had died? Some affirm that a trilinguar inscription on one of them, which was in the middle between the other two, could still be deciphered, and that it

[7] Euseb. iii. 54—58. Socr. i. 18. Sozomen, ii. 5.
[8] Euseb. iii. 25—45. Theodoret, i. 16 and 17.
[9] Vales. on Euseb. iii. 51—53. Sozomen, ii. 4.
[1] See Sozomen, ii. 1.
[2] S. Ambrose de obitu Theodosii, § 43—§ 48.
[3] Sozomen, ii. 1. Socrates, i. 17. Theodoret, i. 17.

Digitized by Google

settled that question.[4] Others relate that the title was found separately;[5] and they add that the identification was tested on the suggestion of the Bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius, and was verified by the performance of a miraculous cure.[6]

Eusebius, the Church historian and biographer of Constantine, agrees with other historians in relating that the Holy Sepulchre was discovered. But he ascribes the discovery to Constantine, and says nothing of the finding of the Cross.

As to the former of these assertions, it may be easily reconciled with the other narratives. What Helena, the mother of Constantine, did, was done by the authority and with the resources of the Emperor, her son. But the silence of Eusebius as to the latter casts a shadow of doubt upon it, which is increased by the marvellous uses to which some of the nails of the Cross are said to have been applied—namely, to adorn the Emperor's helmet, and the bit of his horse.[7]

On the whole, whatever opinion may be formed as to the "*invention of the Cross*," the argument which is alleged against it, the *silence* of Eusebius, confirms the belief in the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre itself, which Eusebius (writing within a few years of the event), concurrently with the other Church Historians, affirms to have been laid open to the light. And the fact that the spot had been chosen by the heathen as a site of a temple of pagan and impure worship in derision and contempt of Christianity, may perhaps

[4] S. Ambrose, ibid. S. Chrysostom, 84, in S. Joannem.

[5] Socrates, Sozomen, l. c. [6] See Theodoret, i. 17.

[7] Theodoret, i. 17. Sozomen, ii. 1. Socr. ii. 17. Perhaps there was an illusion to the prophecy in Zech. xiv. 20.

Digitized by Google

seem to corroborate the opinion that it had been specially venerated by Christians.[8] This at least is certain, that (whether their opinion was correct or no) the Christians of the fourth and following centuries agreed in believing that the site of the Holy Sepulchre had been found by Helena, mother of Constantine.

Eusebius also affirms[9] that Helena built two Churches in Palestine, one on the Mountain of the Ascension, the other in the grotto at Bethlehem where Christ was born of the Virgin Mary,[1] and that these were adorned by Constantine with royal magnificence.

Helena died in about her eightieth year. The Emperor was present with her at her death:[2] but there is no clear record of the place of her death or burial; it was either at Rome or Constantinople.[3]

Constantine's filial reverence for his mother (a woman of humble origin, who had been put away by her husband, his father, for a nobler consort in A.D. 292, after twenty years' conjugal union) is one of the brightest traits of his character. Her death was a heavy loss to him and to the Church. He was thus brought under the powerful influence of his sister Constantia,[4] to whom he showed the tenderest affection in her last sickness, and who on her death-bed commended Arius to his special favour. For this

[8] The arguments for "the invention of the Cross," as well as for the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, are stated by Cardinal Newman on Ecclesiastical Miracles, pp. cxliii—cxlix, and by De Broglie, De l'Église, ii. 117—123. On the other hand, compare Mr. Argles in Wace's Dict. ii. 822.

[9] Vit. Const. iii. 41—43.

[1] Whom he calls *θεοτόκος*.

[2] Euseb. iii. 46.

[3] Euseb. iii. 47. Socr. i. 17.

[4] See vol. i. 420 of the present work.

Digitized by Google

purpose Constantia employed the instrumentality of her favourite spiritual adviser, an Arian priest (whose name is not recorded), and who after her death acquired great influence over the Emperor's mind, and maintained an ascendency over it till the Emperor's death, who (in the absence of his three sons) consigned his last will and testament to the confidential keeping of this Presbyter. She assured Constantine by means of this priest that Arius was sound in the faith, and had been unjustly condemned.[5]

Constantine wrote to Arius, who, in conjunction with his friend Euzoius, addressed a supplicatory letter to the Emperor, in which they presented to him a confession of faith, not in the words of the Nicene Creed, but purporting to be in perfect accordance with "the teaching of Scripture and the Catholic faith," and in which they prayed to be restored to their spiritual mother, the Church.[6]

Having received this assurance, Constantine recalled Arius and Euzoius from exile. And not long afterwards, the Episcopal leader of Arianism, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his friend Theognis of Nicæa, addressed a similar petition to Constantine, in which they declared their acceptance of the term *consubstantial* in the Creed (it having, they said, been duly explained to them[7]), and they also were allowed to return, and were restored by him to their sees.

Arius, though restored by Constantine, was not readmitted to communion by Athanasius, who stated to Constantine the reasons for his refusal to receive him. He had discovered that Eusebius of Nicomedia,

[5] Sozomen, ii. 27.
[6] Socr. i. 25. Sozomen, ii. 27, and ii. 16.
[7] Socr. i. 4. Philostorg. ii. 7.

Digitized by Google

who importunately urged Athanasius to receive Arius, was conspiring with the Meletians of Egypt against Athanasius in favour of Arius and his opinions ;[8] and Eusebius prevailed on Constantine himself to write to Athanasius in terms of menace, that if he did not receive Arius, he should feel his royal displeasure. "Since," wrote the Emperor to him, "you know my will, I require you to admit all who desire to be received into the Church ; and if I hear that you refuse to do so, I will send some to depose you." "To which I replied," said the Archbishop, "in writing, that an Antichristian Heresy[9] cannot be allowed to have communion with the Catholic Church. Then it was," he adds, "that Eusebius of Nicomedia declared that he had gained the opportunity which he had conspired with the Meletians to seek for ; and he wrote letters to them, urging them to contrive a pretext for an accusation against me, as they had done against my predecessors in the see, Peter, Achillas, and Alexander." The refusal of Athanasius to receive Arius to communion was not only galling to Arius himself, but to all who agreed with him in doctrine, and to all who thought that he had been harshly treated at Nicæa and afterwards ; and especially to those Bishops who had received Arius to communion, and to the Emperor who had commanded that reception ; and it prejudiced Constantine against Athanasius. But events proved that Athanasius had a clear foresight of what that reception involved ; and though he was denounced by many as severe, and was persecuted as intolerant, yet it afterwards was manifest that he was actuated by the noblest motives of fer-

[8] Athanas. Apol. § 59.

[9] χριστομάχος αἵρεσις, Apol. § 59.

Digitized by Google

vent zeal for God's glory, and of tender love for the salvation of souls.

The enemies of Athanasius did not venture to assail him on any question of doctrine. This they knew could not be sustained. But they began with charges which they foresaw would exasperate the Emperor against him. Athanasius (they said) had usurped royal authority, and had imposed a new tax in Egypt on linen tunics, and had applied the revenue to the use of his own Church.[1] Three persons of the Meletian party were despatched from Egypt to Nicomedia, where the Emperor then was. Two Alexandrian priests also happened to be there, and cleared their Bishop from the charge. One was Macarius, who afterwards held a prominent place as associated with Athanasius in the arraignments against him. The Emperor sent for Athanasius, and when he arrived the Meletians shifted their ground and charged him with having sent a sum of gold to a rebel Philumenus, and with having despatched that priest Macarius to a Church in a small village in his Diocese; and further they accused Macarius of having broken a sacred chalice in the hands of a Meletian priest, Ischyras, when in the act of consecrating the Holy Eucharist.

It was proved, however, that Ischyras was not a Priest, having not been ordained by a Bishop, but by Colluthus, a presbyter;[2] that there was no Church in the village where the outrage was said to have taken place; and that the day on which the outrage was said to have been committed, was not a Sunday, and consequently there was no celebration on that day; and that on that day Ischyras was incapable of cele-

[1] Apol. § 60.

[2] Ibid. §§ 12, 76, 47.

Digitized by Google

brating, being confined to his bed by sickness. Subsequently Ischyras himself confessed that he had been suborned by the Meletians, and that the whole charge was a groundless fabrication.[3]

Constantine, having examined these charges, dismissed them as frivolous and false ; and wrote a letter to the Church of Alexandria, in which he justified Athanasius, and exhorted them to live in peace. "I have received your Bishop Athanasius," said the Emperor, "and have conversed with him, being persuaded that he is a man of God. This is my judgment. He will bear my greeting to you. May God keep you, beloved brethren."[4]

Such was the first act in this tragical drama.

The Arians next attacked a venerable friend of Athanasius, one who had taken a leading part in the Council of Nicæa—Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch,[5] the third Church in Christendom after Rome and Alexandria.

Eustathius (says Athanasius[6]) was a holy confessor of the faith, and a bold champion of the truth ; and because he had vehemently opposed the Arian heresy, and would not receive the Arians to communion, he was accused by them to Constantine as guilty of contumely to the Emperor's mother, Helena.

In this attempt they were aided by Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, who had been exasperated against Eustathius by charges

[3] Apol. § 64, where Ischyras himself confesses that "there was no chalice broken, no holy table overturned, but I was forced to say what I did." Cp. ibid. §§ 28, 62—65, 68, 74.

[4] Ibid. § 62.

[5] See above, vol. i. p. 451.

[6] Hist. Arian. § 4. And see the article of Precentor Venables in Professor Wace's Dictionary, i. p. 382.

Digitized by Google

of heterodoxy,[7] to which they retorted by an accusation of Sabellianism, which was a common allegation of the Arians against the maintainers of the Nicene faith.

These Arian assaults against their antagonists were frequently combined with religious acts, such as the Dedication of Churches. A desire to be present at the Consecration of the great Church which Constantine had built at Jerusalem, was pleaded as a pretext for the visit of some Arianizing Bishops, especially Eusebius of Nicomedia, to Antioch, in their way to the Holy City. The Emperor was gratified with the proposal, and supplied them with public carriages for its accomplishment.

On their return from the grand Ceremonial at Jerusalem, they held a Council at Antioch. Eustathius was not accused of heterodoxy, but of disloyalty[8] and immorality, and was condemned and deposed. The charge of immorality was afterwards declared to be false by the abandoned woman who made it.[9]

Eustathius retired peaceably from Antioch, being banished by Constantine to Thrace, at the instance of the Eusebians, and afterwards to Illyria; but his memory was long cherished by the faithful of his flock, who called themselves Eustathians.[1]

[7] Sozomen, ii. 18, 19. Socrates, i. 23, 24. Theodoret, i. 20. This statement, as far as concerns Eusebius of Cæsarea, is denied by some; see Bp. Lightfoot on Eusebius in Wace's Dict. i. p. 315.

[8] Athanas. Hist. Arian. § 4.

[9] Theodoret, i. 20 and 21. Constantine in his Epistle to the people of Antioch, and Eusebius in his history of the time (iii. 60, 61), mention the popular excitement produced by the trial, but do not say that Eustathius was guilty of any crime.

[1] Eustathius was also celebrated in a special oration by Chrysostom, for some years presbyter at Antioch (ii. 718, ed. Paris. 1837).

Digitized by Google

The See of Antioch, having thus become vacant, was offered to Eusebius of Cæsarea, who to his honour declined it.[2]

However, the Eusebians raised to it no less than six Arian Bishops in succession.[3]

Another storm was now about to break on the Church and Athanasius.

A certain Meletian Bishop, Arsenius, was suborned by the Arians, assisted by the ecclesiastical head of the Meletians in Egypt, John, surnamed Arcaph. They bribed Arsenius to secrete himself in a monastery in Upper Egypt, and then they circulated a report that Arsenius had been murdered by Athanasius, and that his body had been mutilated by him for magical purposes; and in attestation of this they carried about with them a dead hand, which they said was the hand of Arsenius.[4]

This charge was laid before the Emperor, who referred the matter to Dalmatius the Censor, his half-brother; and he ordered a Synod to meet at Cæsarea in Palestine (A.D. 333 or 334),[5] probably selected by Constantine on account of his regard for Eusebius, the Bishop of that See. Theodoret says[6] that it was removed to Tyre in deference to the prejudices of Athanasius against Eusebius.

This Council of Tyre was held in A.D. 335, the

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 60, 61. Probably on the ground that Episcopal translations had been condemned at Nicæa (Canon 5). Eustathius himself had been translated to Antioch from Berœa in Syria, but before that Council.

[3] Eulalius, Euphronius, Placitus (or Placillus), Stephanus, Leontius, Eudoxius; see Theodoret, v. 39.

[4] Ath. Apol. 42, 63. Socr. i. 27. Soz. ii. 25. Theodoret, i. 26.

[5] See Montfaucon, Vit. Ath. p. xxiv.

[6] i. 26.

Digitized by Google

thirtieth year of Constantine's reign (which he proposed to celebrate by the dedication of the Great Church at Jerusalem), under the secular authority of Count Dionysius, formerly Consular of Phœnicia, attended by a strong military body-guard.

The Synod consisted of about sixty Bishops, principally "Eusebians," as they were called from their chief, Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was attended by Eusebius of Cæsarea, Placillus of Antioch, Theognis of Nicæa, Theodore[7] of Heraclea, Maris of Chalcedon, Ursacius of Singidunum, and Valens of Mursa in Pannonia—afterwards notorious in the history of Arian Synods. A few orthodox Bishops were there: Maximus of Jerusalem, Marcellus of Ancyra, Alexander of Thessalonica, Asclepas of Gaza. Athanasius hesitated to appear; but being expressly summoned by the Emperor (who addressed a pacific letter to the Synod[8]), he came to the Council, accompanied by forty-seven of his Suffragans from Egypt, among whom were two confessors of the faith, Paphnutius and Potammon. His priest Macarius was also there, brought by soldiers a prisoner in chains. Athanasius himself with his Suffragan Bishops was kept standing in the presence of the Bishops seated in Council.

Indignant at this sight, Potammon, Bishop of Heraclea in Egypt, who had lost an eye in the persecution under Maximian, burst into tears, and vented his feelings in an exclamation of grief and surprise:[9]—

[7] Theodore of Perinthus or Heraclea may be mentioned as a specimen of the pious and learned men of the party: he was the author of Commentaries on the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and other parts of Scripture.

[8] Theodoret, i. 27.

[9] Epiphan. Hæres. 69.

Digitized by Google

"What! art thou, Eusebius, sitting there to judge Athanasius?—thou who wast a prisoner with me in the time of persecution; thou, who, when I lost an eye, didst escape unhurt—not, I trow, with a clear conscience." "If you are so arrogant (replied Eusebius) at a distance from home, doubtless there is good reason why you should be accused as having been guilty of petulant pride in your own country."[1]

The accusations against Athanasius were then heard and examined.

They were mainly as follows:—

1. The invalidity of his election and consecration to the Episcopate.
2. Acts of cruelty during his Episcopate.
3. The breaking of the sacred Chalice in the hands of Ischyras.
4. The murder of Arsenius.
5. Violence done to a Virgin dedicated to God.

This last charge[2] was not specified in the Synodical Acts, and is never mentioned by Athanasius in his full accounts of the proceedings of the Synod,

[1] Eusebius, who in his life of Constantine inserts the Emperor's long eirenical address to the Council at Tyre, and describes what took place before and after it (iii. 41, 42), does not even mention the charges against Athanasius which were the cause of it, nor even his name. Many learned disputations have been written on the historical utterances of Eusebius; but we still need an Essay on his *reticences*.

The most memorable are, his omission of all reference to the murder of Crispus the son, and of Fausta the wife, of Constantine (see Bp. Lightfoot's learned article on Eusebius in Wace's Dict. p. 327). These omissions strengthen the general belief that these murders were ordered by the imperial patron of Eusebius. The omission of the name of Athanasius, especially in connexion with the proceedings of the Synod of Tyre, is attributed by Montfaucon (Vit. Athan. p. 1) to the historian's sense of shame for those charges.

[2] It is mentioned by Rufinus, i. 17, and after him by Sozomen, ii. 25; Theodoret, i. 28.

Digitized by Google

nor by Epiphanius. If it was ever brought forward, the triumphant manner in which it was exploded (as stated by Rufinus, Sozomen, and Theodoret) made it too ridiculous to be further insisted upon by the Council, or to be noticed by the accused.

As to the first of the charges, it has been already shown to be groundless; and the presence of forty Suffragans from Egypt, who followed their Archbishop to the Council, was a sufficient proof of his Canonical status. The love of his flock for him, and their universal enthusiasm on his behalf, were afterwards manifested on several trying occasions.

The second charge was disproved, by the testimony of the Egyptian Episcopate in his favour.[3]

The third charge, the breaking of the Chalice, has already been disposed of.

It would be tedious to recount all the details which were brought to light on the fourth—the alleged murder of Arsenius.

Suffice it to say, that by an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, Athanasius succeeded in tracking him from one lurking-place to another, and at last presenting him alive to the astonished Council, which had the dead hand preserved with salt in a box before them. Arsenius was brought forward by him with his two hands muffled up in a cloak. First one hand was drawn forth from it, then the other hand. "And (added Athanasius) since God has given to man only two hands, I leave it to those who have got that third hand in the box to tell us how they came by it."[4]

[3] See the protestations of the forty-seven Bishops in behalf of Athanasius, Concil. General. ii. pp. 451 and 454, ed. Labbe.

[4] Socr. i. 28. Soz. ii. 25. Theodoret, i. 28. Cp. Athanas. Apol. 72.

Digitized by Google

Arsenius himself, with his Meletian presbyters and deacons, made a humble submission to Athanasius, and declined all further intercourse with his accusers, and requested to be admitted to communion by him.[5]

The Eusebians, being thus confounded, moved for a Commission of Inquiry, to be despatched to Egypt to the Mareotic region (lying west of Alexandria) for examination on the spot into the matter of Ischyras. Dionysius consented, and a Commission, composed of inveterate foes of Athanasius (Theognis, Maris, Theodore, Macedonius, Ursacius, and Valens), set out at once as envoys from the Council for the inquiry.[6] Macarius the presbyter was left by the Council in the hands of the soldiers a prisoner in chains. In vain did forty-seven Bishops of Egypt unite in a protest to the Synod against these arbitrary proceedings. The Clergy also of Alexandria, and those of the Mareotic district, put forth a similar appeal to the Civil Powers as follows:—"Inasmuch as Theognis, Maris, Macedonius, Theodore, Ursacius, and Valens, being sent by the Bishops of the Council at Tyre into our district, have declared that they are commissioned to inquire into certain Ecclesiastical misdemeanours, especially concerning the breaking of a Chalice, although they themselves beforetime suborned (as a witness) a certain Ischyras, whom they have brought with them (a man who is by no means a priest, inasmuch as he was ordained by Colluthus, who was not a Bishop), we adjure you by Almighty God and by our lord Constantine Augustus, and his sons, to take these matters into your cogni-

[5] This document is inserted in Athanas. Apol. § 69, and Concil. General. ii. 448, ed. Labbe.

[6] Athanas. Apol. § 72. Concil. ii. p. 451.

Digitized by Google

zance; for Ischyras is not a priest of the Catholic Church, nor has he a Church, nor was any Chalice broken; but all these things are falsehoods and fabrications.[7]

The venerable Bishop of Thessalonica, Alexander, addressed also a strong remonstrance to Count Dionysius on the iniquity of these proceedings, and on the foul conspiracy against Athanasius.[8] The Count, although he did not approve of the Mareotic Commissioners, who were guilty of violent outrages against the faithful[9] at Alexandria, yet adopted no active measures against them.

Athanasius saw no other resource than in an immediate personal appeal to the Emperor; he therefore departed from Tyre and went to Constantinople.

The Synod condemned him in his absence, and deposed him from his See,[1] and they announced their decision to Constantine.

The deliberations being thus ended, they repaired to Jerusalem in the month of September for the dedication of the new Church, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, called the "Great Martyrium"[2] on Calvary. The splendour of that building, and the solemnities with which it was consecrated, the services of prayer and praise and eucharistic celebration, the panegyrical orations at the encænia, are fully described by Eusebius.[3]

This assembly at Jerusalem, which was also called

[7] Athanas. Apol. § 73, A.D. 335. Concil. General. ii. 458.

[8] Athanas. Apol. § 80.

[9] Ibid. § 83.

[1] Sozomen, ii. 25. Socrates (i. 28) says that this was done after the return of the Commissioners.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 43. Socr. i. 33. Soz. ii. 26. Theodoret, i. 29.

[3] Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 30—39; iv. 43, 45.

Digitized by Google

a Synod, was made still more memorable by the reception of Arius to communion. This Council addressed a Synodical Letter[4] to "the Church of Alexandria, and to all who are in Egypt, and the Thebaid, and Libya, and Pentapolis; and to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons throughout the world." In it they announced that "they had received letters from the most religious Emperor, exhorting them to do their duty, in driving away all envy and hatred from the Church, and to re-admit peaceably the Arians, who had been kept out of the Church by jealousy, and whose soundness of faith he has ascertained and attests and declares to us; and whose profession of faith he has communicated to us, and which we ourselves have approved. He therefore equitably exhorted us to admit them, in a letter of which we send a copy to you; and we are persuaded that you will rejoice to embrace them as brethren; and it therefore behoves you—having learnt what has been done by us, and that they have been received by this august Synod, and have communicated with us—to admit them as speedily as possible, and to salute them, in order that they may be united in peace with the Church; especially since their Confession of faith, publicly promulgated, maintains the undoubted Apostolic tradition accepted by all."

In the mean time, Athanasius, accompanied by five Bishops,[5] arrived at Constantinople. He met the Emperor riding on horseback into the city, and accosted him. The interview is thus described by the Emperor himself, in a letter addressed to the Bishops at Tyre:—

[4] Concil. General. ii. p. 46, ed. Labbe. Athanas. Apol. § 84.
[5] Socr. i. 34. Sozomen, ii. 28. Athanas. Apol. § 87.

Digitized by Google

"As I was riding on horseback into the most happy city, Constantinople which bears my name, suddenly, to my surprise, the Bishop Athanasius, with some companions,[6] met me in the middle of the road. At first I did not recognize him, God is my witness; but when I asked my attendants who he was, and what wrongs he had suffered, they informed me. I did not exchange a word with him at that time. But when he entreated me to hear him, and I declined to do so, and almost ordered him to be driven away, he with more confidence affirmed that he asked no other favour than that I would require you to come to me here, in order that in your presence he might complain to me of the injuries done to him.[7] This seems to be only just and reasonable, and therefore I have directed this summons to be sent to you, that as many of you as formed the Synod of Tyre, may hasten to my clemency, and prove by your acts the sincerity and equity of your decision, in the presence of me, whom you cannot deny to be a true servant of God. Therefore, make all speed to come, and be sure that I will do my best that the things prescribed in God's law, which cannot be censured, may be maintained firm and immovable, and that those enemies of God's law may be utterly dispersed and crushed, who under pretence of His Holy Name vent divers blasphemies."

The Eusebians were alarmed by this imperial man-

[6] μετὰ ἑτέρων τινῶν, Ath. Apol. § 87. Perhaps for ἑτέρων we ought to read ἑταίρων. Valesius, in Socr. i. 34, prefers ἱερῶν (priests), the reading of Socrates, but this seems too violent a change.

[7] Epiphanius (Hæres. § 68) states that Athanasius said to the Emperor, "The Lord will judge between you and me, because you take part with those that slander me."

Digitized by Google

date. They nominated a small[8] deputation of their own body to go to Constantinople: the two Eusebii, Theognis and Patrophilus, Ursacius and Valens. These delegates, when they came before the Emperor, said no more of the charges made at Tyre against Athanasius, such as the broken chalice, and the murder of Arsenius. "But Athanasius," they said, "was heard to threaten that he would intercept the usual supply of corn to Constantinople."

This was too much for the Emperor. He had lately caused Sopater to be executed for this offence.[9] His own imperial dignity, that of the magnificent capital lately built and adorned by him, the welfare of its inhabitants who depended for their doles of corn on the supply from Egypt, were outraged by this act of a proud prelate. "He would not even listen to my defence (says Athanasius), and banished me to Gaul."[1]

Athanasius was sent to Treves, which was the capital of the "first province of Belgium," and the residence of the imperial viceroys, and of the Emperors themselves when in Gaul. He reached that place in February, A.D. 336, and was well received by Constantine, the eldest son of the Emperor, and by its venerable and faithful Bishop Maximin: he remained there for two years and a half. The Emperor Constantine, though urged by the Eusebians to place an Arian Bishop at Alexandria in his room, refused to do so.

[8] Socr. i. 35. Cp. Athanas. Apol. c. Arian. § 9, § 87.

[9] Eunapius, p. 41.

[1] Apol. § 9, § 87, where is a letter from Constantine II. (the eldest son of Constantine) from Treves to the people to Alexandria, in which he says that "his father banished Athanasius from Alexandria, in order to rescue him from his enemies, and that Constantine had intended to restore him to his See, but was prevented by death."

Digitized by Google

While Athanasius was at Treves, the Eusebians attacked his friend, Marcellus of Ancyra, in a Council assembled at Constantinople.[2] Marcellus had distinguished himself by a work against Asterius the Sophist, who had apostatized from Christianity, and had sacrificed to idols, and afterwards was a partisan of Arianism.[3] Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, attacked the work of Marcellus, and charged him with Sabellianism, and with holding the doctrines of Paul of Samosata.[4] Marcellus was deposed by the Council, and another Bishop, Basilius, was placed in his room. But their principal design in this Council was completely to re-instate Arius in the communion of the Church in the face of the world. He had been received to communion at Jerusalem, but not at Alexandria, and had been specially invited by Constantine to his own imperial city.[5]

Alexander, the Bishop of Constantinople, was then about ninety-six years of age; he steadily declined the importunate solicitations of Arius and his powerful allies, who declared that they would cause Alexander to be deposed, if on a given day he persisted in his refusal to receive him to communion.[6]

In this emergency the saintly Bishop, James of Nisibis, who was then at Constantinople, comforted his aged Episcopal brother, and exhorted the faithful to resort to fasting and prayer.[7] Alexander shut himself up in the Church called Irené, and prostrated

[2] Concil. General. ii. 474. Sozomen, ii. 33. Theodoret, i. 13.
[3] Athanas. de Synod. § 18.
[4] On which see vol. i. 396, 398.
[5] Socr. i. 27; i. 37. Soz. ii. 29.
[6] Epiphan. Hær. 69.
[7] Theodoret, Relig. Hist. § 1. Socr. i. 37, 38. Soz. ii. 30. Rufin. i. 12.

Digitized by Google

himself before the altar, and prayed with tears some nights and days in succession.

The Eusebians fixed on a certain Sunday for the reception of Arius to communion. On the eve Constantine sent for him, and asked him whether he accepted the faith of Nicæa. Arius replied in the affirmative. Constantine demanded his profession of faith. Instead of presenting the Nicene Creed, he offered a formula which did not comprise the heretical propositions for which he had been excommunicated by the Bishop of Alexandria, but although couched [8] in Scriptural language, did not contain the crucial phrase of all, the Son's consubstantiality with the Father. Arius affirmed by oath that he had not entertained the heretical opinions for which he had been ejected. "If thy faith is sound," said the Emperor to him,[9] "thou hast well sworn; but if thy faith is impious, and if, notwithstanding, thou hast taken this oath, may God judge thy cause."

After this interview with the Emperor, the partisans of Arius declared to the aged Bishop that, whether he would consent or no, Arius should be received to communion on the next day in his Church.

An eye-witness of what ensued describes what then took place.[1] "The Bishop in deep sorrow went to the Church, and knelt down in tears before the altar, and stretched forth his hands and prayed thus: 'If Arius is to-morrow to be admitted to communion, let me Thy servant, O Lord, depart from this life, and do not destroy the pious with the impious. But

[8] Athanas. ad Serapion. p. 268.
[9] Ibid.
[1] Macarius apud Athanas. ad Serap. § 3.

Digitized by Google

if Thou hast pity on Thy Church—and I am sure Thou wilt have pity—behold what the Eusebians say; and do not give up Thine inheritance to confusion and reproach, but take away Arius (*αἶρε Ἄρειον*), lest by his entering into the Church, Heresy may enter in with him, and impiety may be deemed to be piety.' When the Bishop had thus prayed, he retired in great anxiety; and then a wonderful and unexpected event took place."

It was late in the afternoon. Arius came forth from the palace, escorted by his friends, who were conducting him in triumph through the city. Attended by a large crowd, he was passing through the public square, called the Forum of Constantine, where stood a grand column of porphyry. There he was overtaken by a call of nature, and retired for relief to a place behind the square, leaving one of his attendants at the door of it. After some delay, he did not appear; the door was opened, and he was found dead. The words of Scripture were applied by some to describe the manner of his death: "He burst asunder in the midst, and his bowels gushed out."[2]

The place of his death was for some time afterwards regarded with mysterious awe; but at length it was purchased by a rich Arian, who built a house on the site.[3]

Such are the facts of the history. The reader will make his own comments upon them.[4]

[2] Acts i. 8. Ath. ibid. For the history of his death, see besides the Epistle of Athanasius, Theodoret, i. 13; Sozomen, ii. 31; Socrates, i. 38; and the careful summary in Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 296, ed. Paris. 1704.

[3] Sozomen, ii. 30.

[4] The different reflections made by others may be seen in the Letter of Athanasius quoted above; and in the writings of Epiphanius,

Digitized by Google

The effects produced on the mind of the Emperor are variously reported. He appears to have been in a state of suspense. He had banished Athanasius from Alexandria, but had not assented to the proposal of a successor for his see; and he exiled also the head of the rival Meletian party. His son Constantine affirmed that he had intended to restore Athanasius. But in reply to the appeals of the people of Alexandria, and of Antony in favour of Athanasius, Constantine replied that Athanasius was a turbulent person, and had been condemned by the decree of a Council of Bishops at Tyre,[5] which he could not rescind.

Two other deaths followed soon after that of Arius: first, that of Alexander, aged ninety-eight, Bishop of Constantinople [6]—which see he had held for twenty-three years; next, that of the Emperor himself.

Constantine was preparing to engage in a campaign against Persia, and had constructed an itinerant Church for religious services, and had commanded some Bishops to minister in it during his march.[7] The Persians sent an embassy of peace, and terms of truce were agreed on.

After Easter, his health, which had always been very robust, suddenly failed; and he resorted to the warm baths of Constantinople, and then Helenopolis; but not being benefited by them, he thence removed to Nicomedia in Bithynia, A.D. 337. Conscious that his end was near, he resolved to receive the Holy

Gregory Nazianzen, S. Ambrose, and others, cited by Tillemont, vi. 298; and in later times Cardinal Newman on Eccles. Miracles, p. clxx; De Broglie, Hist. ii. 360; Gibbon, ch. xxi. p. 349.

[5] Sozomen, ii. 31.

[6] Montfaucon, Vit. Ath. p. xxxiii.

[7] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 56.

Digitized by Google

Sacrament of Baptism. He had delayed it, he said to the Bishops who were with him, because he desired to be baptized in the river Jordan, in which his Saviour had been baptized.[8]

He had humbly confessed his sins at Helenopolis, and had received imposition of hands there; and after that preparation he received Baptism at the Villa Ancyrona, a suburb of Nicomedia, from Eusebius the Bishop of that city, assisted by other Bishops. "Thus," says his biographer, Eusebius of Cæsarea, "he was the first of Roman Emperors, who by regeneration was perfected in the testimonies of Christ; and being honoured with the divine seal, he was renewed, and filled with divine light. He was attired in a white baptismal robe, which he wore till his death, never exchanging it for the purple."

After prayer and praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God, he died about noon on Whit-Sunday, May 22, A.D. 337, aged, probably, sixty-three years, having reigned nearly thirty-one years—the longest reign of any Roman Emperor since that of Augustus.

His body, having been laid out in state in a coffin of gold covered with purple,[9] was carried from Nicomedia to Constantinople, where it was placed on high in the stateliest room of the palace, and was adorned with the imperial diadem and other insignia of royalty, and surrounded with burning tapers on golden candlesticks, and at length was buried by his second son, Constantius, in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.

[8] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 62.

[9] Ibid. iv. 66, 67, 70.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III.

From the accession of the three sons of Constantine (Constantine II., Constantius, and Constans), A.D. 337, to the death of Constans, A.D. 350, when Constantius became sole Emperor.

IT was a fortunate thing for the Church that Athanasius, when banished by Constantine in the beginning of A.D. 336, had been sent into the West, and not, as some other Bishops (who were exiled in that century for their faith and courage), to some inhospitable regions of the East. Thus he was brought into contact with the two Emperors of the West, Constantine the eldest, and Constans the youngest, son of Constantine; and was enabled to exercise a salutary influence over them.

It was also a happy thing that he had been sent to Treves, the imperial residence of Constantine, the joint Emperor of the West. At the death of Constantine the partition of the Empire was as follows :— Constantine, the eldest, received Gaul and Spain, and all the countries beyond the Alps. To Constans, the youngest, were assigned Rome, Italy, Sicily, Illyria, and Africa. Constantius, the second, received the capital of the East, Constantinople, Asia, and Egypt.[1]

[1] This partition was, in the main, consequent on the expressed will of Constantine. Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 51.

Digitized by Google

Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine and Fausta, was born in A.D. 312; Constantius in A.D. 317 (Aug. 6); Constans about A.D. 320; so that the eldest was twenty-five years of age, the second twenty years old, and the youngest only seventeen, at their accession.

The accession of Constantius was marked by the sacrifice of the lives of all, except his two brothers, who might be supposed to be rivals to the throne. This, it is said, was done at the instigation of the army, who would not serve under any one except the sons of Constantine. Julius the father of Julian, Constantius his uncle, and Dalmatius and Hanniballian his cousins,[2] and four other members of his family perished in that massacre. Dalmatius had received the title of Cæsar from Constantine with the government of Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia; Hannibalian had the name of King, with royal sway over Cappadocia, Pontus, and Armenia; and he resided at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, afterwards the Episcopal see of S. Basil. On their death Thrace and Cappadocia were ceded to Constantius; Macedonia and Achaia to Constantine, his elder brother.

Two sons of Julius were spared on account of their tender age: Gallus afterwards Cæsar under Constantius; and Julian, the successor of Constantius in the Empire of the Roman World. They were placed under the tutelage of Eusebius, the friend of Arius, and Bishop of Nicomedia, who was distantly related to Basilina, mother of Julian; and they were admitted by Eusebius to the order of Readers in the Church.

On the 18th of May, 338, Constantine, the eldest of

[2] Cp. Athan. Apol. ad Monachos, § 69; Zosim. ii. 40; Julian. ad Athen. p. 276; Ammian. xxi. 16.

Digitized by Google

the Emperors, addressed a letter[3] from Treves "to the people of the Catholic Church at Alexandria," in which he said that "Athanasius (whom he calls 'an expounder of the adorable law') had been sent into Gaul for a season by Constantine, in order that, inasmuch as the ferocity of his bloodthirsty enemies endangered his sacred head, he might not suffer evils beyond remedy; and that he might escape their malice, he was rescued out of their jaws, and was commanded to dwell under my protection in this city; where he has been supplied with all things needful, although his illustrious virtue, trusting in the divine aid, lightly regards the severest sufferings."

The Emperor proceeds to say that his father Constantine had intended to restore Athanasius to his see, but was prevented by death; and therefore he, as the inheritor of his father's intentions, loses no time in fulfilling them. He tells them with what respect Athanasius has been treated, and "Wonder not," he adds, "at anything I have done for him, inasmuch as the idea of your desire, and the form of so great a man, have prompted me to it. May God's providence preserve you, beloved brethren. From Treves on the 15th of the calends of June."

The Eastern Emperor, Constantius, did not venture to oppose his elder brother. He was indeed under the influence of the Arian Priest already mentioned, who had been entrusted with Constantine's will, and who had gained possession of Eusebius the Eunuch, the Chamberlain of the Emperor, and of the Empress, and had biassed them in favour of Arianism, and against Athanasius.[4]

[3] Extant in Athan. Apol. § 8.

[4] Socr. ii. 2. Sozomen, iii. 1. Theodoret, ii. 2.

Digitized by Google

Athanasius, fortified with Constantine's rescript to the Alexandrines, set out on his journey homeward; and in his return thither he came three times into the presence of Constantius:[5] first at Viminiacum in Mœsia, secondly at Constantinople, thirdly at Cæsarea in Cappadocia.

In none of these interviews (as he afterwards reminded Constantius) did he attempt to retaliate on his enemies.

He arrived in November at Alexandria, to the great joy of the clergy and people.[6] The day of his return was observed as an annual festival.

His enemies, however, did not relax their efforts against him. They accused him to Constantius of having embezzled the Corn granted by Constantine to the widows of Alexandria, and they urged as a charge against him, that having been condemned and deposed by a Council of the Church (at Tyre), he had ventured to return to his see before any Synodical revocation of that sentence.

Athanasius wrote to Constantius, and refuted their calumnies against him.[7] With regard to the judicial decree against him of the Council of Tyre, inasmuch as much stress was laid upon it by the enemies of Athanasius, it should be observed that such a Council could not have canonical authority, on account of the defects by which it was vitiated,[8] both in its constitution, and mode of proceeding.

[5] Apol. ad Const. § 5; Hist. Arian. § 8. Montfaucon, p. xxxv.

[6] Apol. c. Arian. § 7.

[7] Apol. § 18. Socr. ii. 3. Sozom. iii. 2.

[8] See above, vol. i. p. 391, on the criteria for determining the validity of Synodical decrees. The invalidity of its decrees is clearly pointed out in the Synodical Letter of the Alexandrine Council, A.D. 340. Athan. Apol. § 8.

Digitized by Google

In order to accomplish their purpose, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his Arian allies, first made an effort to depose Paul, the orthodox Bishop of Constantinople (the successor of Alexander), and to place Eusebius himself in the see of the imperial city. In this they succeeded [9] by means of a so-called Synod held at Constantinople [1] in A.D. 339. Next the Eusebians proceeded to Antioch, where they endeavoured to appoint an Arian Priest of Alexandria, Pistus, to the see of Athanasius.

In this, however, they were thwarted by the energy of the Church of Alexandria in a Council held in A.D. 340. One hundred Bishops met there in Synod, and addressed an Encyclic to all Catholic Bishops, in which they protested against the ambition of Eusebius, and against the cruel injustice perpetrated by him and his party in their persecutions of Athanasius.

This Synodical Epistle of the Bishops assembled at Alexandria from Egypt, the Thebaid, Libya, and Pentapolis, to all the Catholic Bishops throughout the world, is a clear manifesto on behalf of Athanasius, and states all the charges against him, and refutes them.

They also sent legates to Julius, Bishop of Rome, whom the Eusebians had requested to recognize Pistus as Bishop of Alexandria. The envoys of the two rival parties met at Rome, and the result was that the Eusebian Emissaries retreated hastily from the city, and Pistus was rejected as a heretic.[2]

Thus, for a time, the danger was averted by the

[9] Athan. Hist. ad Monachos, § 7.

[1] Sozomen, iii. 4.

[2] See the letter of Pope Julius in Athan. Apol. §§ 21, 22, 24.

Digitized by Google

vigilance of the Church of Alexandria, and by the energy and faithfulness of the Church of Rome co-operating with it against the Arians of Constantinople, aided by the Emperor of the East and the Bishop of that city.

About this time the most learned Bishop of his age, Eusebius of Cæsarea, died.[3]

Such a name ought not to be allowed to pass without a tribute of grateful veneration. If it had not pleased God to raise him up for the work which he performed, we should have scarcely known anything of the history of the Christian Church between the end of the Acts of the Apostles and the Council of Nicæa. It was even providential that his historical method was not more scientific than it was. Happily for the Church, he was content to be a literary compiler, transcriber, and preserver of ancient documents, and to build his fame as an historian on industry rather than on genius. Whatever judgment may be formed of his theological tenets[4] (and he does not seem always to be consistent with himself), this at least must be recorded to his honour, that he does not suppress passages of authors who held and taught the soundest doctrines on such articles of the Faith as the Godhead of our Blessed Lord, and who denounced those who denied it.[5]

He was betrayed into excessive obsequiousness and servile adulation of Constantine. But let us not forget the circumstances and temper of the times.

[3] Socr. ii. 4. Sozomen, iii. 2. The article of Bishop Lightfoot, in Prof. Wace's Dict. pp. 308—348, is one of the best contributions of modern times to the elucidation of the character and works of Eusebius.

[4] See the different authorities quoted by Bishop Lightfoot, p. 347, and cp. Fleury, Hist. iii. p. 238.

[5] See, for example, Euseb. v. 28, quoted above, vol. i. 301.

Digitized by Google

Emperors were divinized. Eusebius had known and felt what Heathenism was, and what the Church of Christ had suffered under it, and from what it had been delivered by Almighty God raising up Constantine as His instrument for one of the greatest works in the history of mankind. To eulogize Constantine was to bless God, Whose agent he was. To panegyrize him was to adore Christ, Whose cross he had placed on the military standards of the Mistress of the world.

As to his treatment of Athanasius, it cannot be defended. But we must not identify Eusebius with what Arianism *became* in the days of Constantius His silence with regard to the proceedings at Tyre against Athanasius, may be charitably construed into a sense of misgiving as to their fairness. And after the deputation to Constantinople from Jerusalem, his name disappears from the list of those who persecuted him.[6] His death was opportune for himself.

About the same time occurred another death, more disastrous to Athanasius; that of Constantine, one of the two Western Emperors, who unhappily engaged in a strife with his brother Constans concerning the possession of Africa and Italy, and was slain by the troops of Constans near Aquileia. Thus perished the royal benefactor of Athanasius. Constans however, who thus became master of Gaul and Spain, and other countries north of the Alps, be-

[6] It has been supposed by some (see the Preliminary note to it by Valesius; cp. Lightfoot, p. 328) that the Life of Constantine by Eusebius was a posthumous work, and was perhaps edited by his Arian successor Acacius. If so, it passed through the hands of one who was more admired for ability than respected for honesty (see Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 206); and it may be that we do not possess that work in its original form.

Digitized by Google

friended him, and requested him to supply him with some copies of Holy Scripture for his use,[7] which were sent to him from Alexandria.

The Eusebians of Constantinople, being disappointed in their hope of enlisting the Bishop of Rome in their cause, and in their attempt to supplant Athanasius by sending Pistus to Alexandria, resolved to dispense with the aid of the greatest Church of the West, and to act on the support and encouragement of the Civil power, and displace Athanasius by its means.

In the first instance they made an overture to Eusebius of Edessa (afterwards celebrated as Bishop of Emesa); but he, well knowing the affection of the Clergy and People for their Bishop, Athanasius, declined the appointment to Alexandria.[8]

Gregory of Cappadocia, formerly a friend of Athanasius, was chosen by them for that purpose. Athanasius[9] states that this mission of Gregory was the act of the Emperor Constantius himself, acting at the instigation of the Eusebians. "They resort (he says) to the Emperor, and appeal to him. Have pity on our failing cause (they ask); all are deserting us. Write letters, and send Philagrius as Præfect to Egypt, and send Gregory as Bishop with him." Constantius therefore wrote, and sent Philagrius, with Arsacius the Eunuch, and Gregory, and a military band. Athanasius has described the scenes of cruelty and confusion which ensued at Alexandria. Without any canonical

[7] Athan. Apol. § 4. See above, p. 45.

[8] Socr. ii. 8, 9. Sozomen, iii. 6. The overture to Eusebius of Edessa, and the ordination of Gregory of Cappadocia, and his intrusion into the See of Alexandria, are stated by Socrates and Sozomen to have been acts of the Council of Antioch; but there are chronological objections to this statement, and it is not borne out by the narrative of Athanasius.

[9] Athan. Hist. ad Monachos, § 9 and § 10.

Digitized by Google

sanction, with no suffrages of the Bishops and Clergy, and without the consent of the people, the Eusebians had consecrated Gregory to the See of Alexandria, and sent him under the patronage of his countryman Philagrius, Præfect of Egypt, an apostate from the faith, aided by a strong military force, to take possession of it. He announced to the people that Gregory was coming from the Court of Constantius to supersede their Bishop. Sacrilegious outrages were perpetrated in the Baptistery and at the altar of the Church of S. Quirinus at Alexandria, with the help of an infuriated mob of heathens and Jews. Virgins of the Church were vilely used; Monks were wounded and murdered. The doors and railings of the Church were torn off; the candles of the Church were lighted in honour of heathen deities; the sacred mysteries were profaned, the Holy Books were burned, idolatrous worship, blasphemous orgies, obscene bacchanalian revelries were celebrated in the hallowed precincts; rapine and bloodshed, and the most licentious impurities prevailed.[1]

These outrages were committed on March 19, A.D. 340. It was the season of Lent; and four days afterwards Gregory entered the city as Bishop, and testified his approval of what Philagrius had done, by joining with him on Good Friday in the savage chastisement of thirty-four women by scourging. He then proceeded to another Church where Athanasius usually officiated, in order that he might arrest and murder him; but the Bishop of Alexandria was not there: he had sailed for Rome.

Other enormities were perpetrated by Philagrius

[1] Athan. Encyclic. ad omnes Episcopos, § 2—§ 5; Hist. Arian. § 10; Apol. § 30.

Digitized by Google

and Gregory on Easter Day in Alexandria, afterwards in various Dioceses of Egypt.

The narrative of these events was published by Athanasius himself, in his "Encyclic Epistleaddressed to all Bishops in every place."[2]

Athanasius was courteously received by Julius, Bishop of Rome, who resolved to convene a Synod in order that his cause might be examined; and who sent legates, Elpidius and Philoxenus, to the Eusebians to invite them to the Council.[3]

Athanasius was accompanied by two monks of Egypt, Ammonius and Isidorus,[4] both famous for their sanctity; and this visit was memorable for giving occasion to the spread of the monastic spirit and discipline (as described by Athanasius in his Life of Antony[5]) imported from the East[6] into Rome and Italy. In this respect the banishment of Athanasius from Alexandria to Rome may, as we shall hereafter see, have been the cause of events fruitful in results in Church History, such as the migrations of S. Jerome and Rufinus and their companions from Rome to Palestine,[7] and the foundation of the monasteries at Bethlehem and on Olivet.

A storm was now gathering which was about to break over Christendom. The East and West were

[2] As to its true title, see Montfaucon's Monitum prefixed to it, p. 86.

[3] Athan. c. Arian. § 20; Hist. ad Monachos, § 11.

[4] See Socr. iv. 23.

[5] See above, vol. i. pp. 430—438.

[6] In accordance with this importation of the monastic spirit and usages from the East into the West, it is worthy of remark that almost all the terms connected with monastic life are of Eastern—and not of Western—origin. Such are *monasterium*, *cœnobium*, *ascetæ*, *migades*, *anchorite*, *hermit*, *archimandrite*, &c. Cp. Abp. Trench, Study of Words, p. 126.

[7] S. Jerome, Epist. 96. Rufin. in Jerome, Apol. ii. 420.

Digitized by Google

about to be engaged in conflict. Athanasius was at Rome. The Bishop of Rome, Julius, was a man of energy, ability, and orthodoxy.[8] The Eastern Eusebians relied on the secular support of Constantius and his Court.

Athanasius had lost the powerful protection of Constantine, the Western Emperor, who was now dead; but he had a friend in his brother Constans; and above all, he was strong in his cause, and in the support of the Western Church.

The policy of the Easterns was brought to bear against him, not only with ingenuity and dexterity, but with a show of religion and loyalty, which made his position more embarrassing.

The dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, built by the Emperor Constantine,[9] and reserved for Consecration till the thirtieth year of his reign, in order to give greater splendour to that anniversary, had been made the occasion and the plea for the assembling of the Council of Bishops at Tyre, to try the cause of Athanasius. And it must have been a severe trial to him to find that he could not show his piety to God, and his loyalty to his Sovereign, by taking part in that Council in the year B.C. 335, without being a party to an accusation against himself. And now, in A.D. 341, another bitter suffering of the same kind awaited him.

The fifth anniversary of the accession of the Emperor Constantius was to be celebrated by the Dedication of the magnificent Church (called the

[8] For a specimen of these characteristics of Pope Julius, see his noble Address to the Eusebians at Antioch in Athan. Apol. c. Arian. § 21, pp. 111—121.

[9] Athan. Apol. § 4.

Digitized by Google

Golden Basilica) at Antioch, which had been founded by Constantine ten years before. Constantius himself with his royal cortége was present. Bishops from all parts of the East, ninety-seven in number, came to this great solemnity. The Dedication of the Church was to be combined with the holding a Council in the summer and autumn of that year. Eusebius of Nicomedia was there, Acacius of Cæsarea (the successor of Eusebius), Theodore of Heraclea, Theognis of Nicæa, Eudoxius of Germanicia, George of Laodicea, Maris of Chalcedon, and other leading Arians. No Western Bishop was present.[1] As far as numbers were concerned, the orthodox Bishops were in a small majority; but the Arians under the Imperial influence were the more powerful party.

Athanasius had the mortification of knowing that the design of many in this great assembly, nominally convened for the noblest purpose, was to crush him, and subvert the Nicene Faith. As the historians say, "Though they met on the plea of consecrating the Church, yet in fact their design was to abrogate the decrees of Nicæa.[2] When all the Bishops were assembled, and the Emperor Constantius was present, many of them began to accuse Athanasius, as having violated the law of the Church, and having resumed his place at Alexandria before he had been reinstated in his see by a Synodical decree, and to have been guilty of acts of violence on his return."

They were aware that Athanasius, and his able allies in the West, led by Julius, Bishop of Rome,

[1] Socr. ii. 8. Sozom. iii. 5.

[2] Sozomen, iii. 5. Socr. ii. 8. These historians say that they proceeded to offer the See of Alexandria to Eusebius of Edessa, and, on his declining it, to ordain Gregory the Cappadocian to it. But see above, p. 75, note. At any rate, the Emperor was the principal agent.

Digitized by Google

were watchful observers of their proceedings. And they had many Bishops among them who were not infected with the Arian heresy. The Council therefore acted with caution and reserve, and spoke in an apologetic tone. They put forth three Confessions of Faith, in none of which did the crucial term *consubstantial* appear. In the first they disclaimed the imputation of bein followers of Arius; for "How," say they, "can we who are Bishops be followers of a Presbyter?[3] But having examined his faith, we have admitted and received, rather than followed him."

They then proceeded to declare their belief; but this declaration did not satisfy them, and they therefore adopted the fuller formula which they ascribed to the holy martyr Lucian, and which was accepted by all the Bishops, ninety-seven in number; and which was afterwards distinguished by the title of the *Creed of the Dedication;* and which, if it had not been intended to supersede the Nicene Creed, would have been unexceptionable.

A third and shorter form was proposed by Theophronius, Bishop of Tyana, which was also accepted by the Council, and to which the same character may be given. S. Hilary, in his work on Synods written a few years afterwards, speaks with charitable allowance of the second of these formulas.[4]

The temper of the Council may also be inferred from the twenty-five Canons[5] which it framed. Many

[3] Socr. ii. 10. Sozom. iii. 5.

[4] S. Hilary de Synod. pp. 480—482; he thinks that the Synod specially designed to condemn Sabellianism, imputed to Marcellus of Ancyra.

[5] They may be seen in Concil. General., Labbe, ii. pp. 562—587; Mansi, ii. 1307; Bruns, Concil. pp. 80—87; and see Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, i. p. 513. Pope Innocent I. (Ep. 7 ad Constant., A.D. 405)

Digitized by Google

of them, especially those on Ecclesiastical discipline, are of primary importance.[6] They were received into the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church, and deserve careful attention.[7]

Canon 1 enforces the Nicene Canon on the observance of Easter.

Canon 2 condemns those who come to Church and listen to the reading of the Scriptures, but do not join in the prayers and Holy Communion.[8] It also condemns those ecclesiastics who communicate with excommunicated persons.[9]

Canon 3.—Against clerical non-residence.

Canons 4 and 12 forbid a Bishop who has been deposed by a Council,[1] or a Priest or Deacon deprived by his Bishop, to intrude into their ministry on pain of not being restored by another Council; and if a person deposed by his Bishop presumes to importune the Emperor, instead of appealing to a greater Council, he shall not be heard and reinstated. The former of these two Canons seems to refer to the case of Athanasius.

rejected these canons as framed by heretics. But the Easterns accepted them (see Concil. Chalcedon. act. 4), and they are contained in the Codex Canonum of the Greek Church; and eventually the Latins also received them, as Pope Zacharias, Epist. 7. They are given, with the notes of Balsamon and Zonaras, in Beveridge, Synod. i. 409.

[6] Some learned persons have propounded an hypothesis that these Canons were framed by a different Council of Antioch, and not by that which put forth the formulas of faith; in a word, that there were *two Councils of Antioch*, which have been confounded with one another; and they imagine the one to have been orthodox and the other heterodox. But this supposition has been carefully examined and satisfactorily disposed of by Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, i. pp. 506—513.

[7] As Fleury says, iii. 263, "Comme la discipline en étoit sainte et apostolique, ils furent reçus par toute l'Église."

[8] Cp. above, p. 65, note, and Canon. Apost. 9, to the same effect.

[9] Cp. Canon. Apost. 10.

[1] Cp. ibid. 29.

Digitized by Google

Canons 5, 6, 7.—Against schismatical assemblies.

Canon 8.—On commendatory Letters (*κανονικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ*) with a view to communion in other Dioceses.[2]

Canon 9.—On the relation of the Suffragan Bishops of a Province to their Metropolitan.

Canon 10.—On *Chorepiscopi* (or what are now called in England, not correctly, "Bishops Suffragan.") They may appoint Readers, and Sub-deacons, and Exorcists; but may not ordain Priests or Deacons without the consent of the Bishop in whose Diocese they are.[3]

Canon 11.—Against importunate resort of Bishops or Priests to the Emperor without the sanction of their Metropolitan.

Canon 12.—See above, Canon 4.

Canons 13, 21, and 22.—Against Bishops who officiate Episcopally, without due permission, in other Dioceses and Provinces.

Canons 14, 15.—On judicial proceedings against Bishops, in cases of difference of votes.

Canons 16, 17, 18.—On irregular migrations of Bishops from one Diocese to another.

Canon 19.—A Bishop may not be consecrated to a Diocese without the consent of the Metropolitan and the suffrages of the comprovincial Bishops.

Canon 20.—On the holding of Provincial Synods twice a year. Compare the Nicene Canons, Canon 5.

Canon 21.—Against the Translation of Bishops from one Diocese to another. Compare Canon 15 of Nicæa.

[2] Cp. Suicer, Thesaur. *v.* *κανονικὸς*, N. ii.

[3] The importance of this Canon in relation to Episcopal Ordinations, and the 13th Canon of the Council of Ancyra, has been already noticed, vol. i. p. 46; and see Beveridge, Synod. i. 386, 439. Cp. Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, i. pp. 516, 773, 774.

Digitized by Google

Canon 22.—See Canon 13.

Canon 23.—A Bishop may not name his successor to his see. This also may refer to Athanasius.

Canons 24 and 25.—The Bishop is Trustee of the goods of the Church, in conjunction with the Priests and Deacons; but he ought to dispense them in the fear of God, for his own necessary uses, and for those of his brethren, and for purposes of piety and charity.

The 4th, 12th, and 23rd of these Canons appear to have been framed (as has been said) with an eye to the case of Athanasius; but on the other hand, the 21st Canon involved a censure on Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had been translated to Constantinople.

We may infer from this Canon that the influence of Eusebius was on the wane. Probably he was in feeble health. In the year after this Council he died;[4] and the Catholic Bishop Paul, who had been ejected to make room for him, was chosen by the orthodox party in his stead. The Arians set up Macedonius. Constantius hastened from Antioch to Constantinople, and ejected Paul, without accepting Macedonius.

It is observable also, that though the Council of Antioch framed three Canons which appeared to affect Athanasius, yet it did not venture to condemn him by name—as it did Marcellus of Ancyra—although there was a strong party against Athanasius, with the Emperor himself at its head.

The language of the three Creeds adopted by the Council, especially of the second and third, is so temperate and guarded, and the action of the Western Church in his favour was so powerful, that

[4] Socr. ii. 12. Soz. iii. 7. Ath. Apol. § 36. Before the arrival of the rescript of Julius to the Bishop of Antioch.

Digitized by Google

hopes might then have been entertained of restoration of peace to the Church.

But, as we have already seen,[5] steps had been taken by the Civil Power, which had rendered such a result very difficult of attainment. A rival Bishop, Gregory the Cappadocian, had been sent to Alexandria to supplant Athanasius. No Bishops of Africa had nominated him as their Metropolitan; no Clergy had elected him; none of the people, except Heathens and Jews, had welcomed him. He had been thrust into the "Throne of St. Mark" by the force of his infidel compatriot Philagrius, whose sword menaced his opponents, and maintained him in the see.

Some historians, ancient and modern, have supposed that this act of intrusion was due to the *Council* of Antioch; but (though he seems to have been ordained at Antioch) none of the documents in the works of Athanasius authorize such an opinion; and modern investigations, as well as internal evidence, derivable from the Council of Antioch—particularly from some of its Canons—show that it is scarcely tenable.

When Athanasius had reached Rome, Julius, Bishop of that city, sent two Presbyters, Elpidius and Philoxenus, to the Bishops who were at Antioch, and invited them to Rome, in order to examine the case of Athanasius. These Presbyters left Rome early in the summer of A.D. 341.

The Eusebians were surprised to hear that Athanasius was at Rome, and when they heard that the Council proposed by Julius was to be a purely Ecclesiastical one, and would not be subject to the influence of the secular power, they were unwilling to attend it, and framed another Confession of faith,

[5] Above, p. 75.

Digitized by Google

the fourth which was made at Antioch, a few months after the three preceding ones.[6]

The papal legates were detained at Antioch till January, A.D. 342, and brought with them a reply from the Bishops, written in a spirit of haughty remonstrance.[7] Julius kept this letter for some time without communicating it to the Western Bishops, fifty in number, assembled at Rome, in hopes that some emissaries would come to the Roman Council from the Bishops at Antioch, and modify its language. None, however, appeared. He therefore laid the letter before the Synod, which proceeded to discuss the matters propounded to it. It examined seriatim the charges brought against Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza, and pronounced sentence in their favour, and admitted them to communion; and authorized Julius to write a Synodical letter to the Eusebians, and to announce the result of its deliberations to them. This he did in the autumn of A.D. 342, when Athanasius had been a year and a half at Rome, waiting for his accusers to appear against him.

The letter of Julius has been preserved in the Apology of Athanasius[8] to the Arians, and reflects great credit on his firmness, ability, and moderation. He shows the invalidity of the proceedings against Athanasius in the Synod at Tyre, and of the Mareotic Commission; and the groundlessness of the charge of

[6] Athan. Apol. de Synodis, § 251.

[7] See it in Socr. ii. 15. In that Letter, written by the common consent of all (says Socrates), they severely rebuked Julius for his interference, and for claiming to have a right to depose Bishops without any reference to them. It is probable that the orthodox party, having taken part in framing the Canons, had quitted Antioch, and that this letter was written by the remnant who were Eusebians.

[8] Athan. Apol. § 21—§ 35.

Digitized by Google

the "broken Chalice" and "the murder of Arsenius;" and the injustice of the appointment, first of Pistus, a heretic, and secondly, of Gregory, to supersede Athanasius in the See of Alexandria. "Consider," he says, "which of the two parties is acting against the Canons? We, who have received Athanasius to communion, whose innocence has been proved to us; or they who have ordained at Antioch[9] a Bishop in his place for Alexandria—a distance of thirty-six stages from it—and have sent him with a military force to take possession of the see? And what sort of person is he? A stranger to his flock, who was not baptized among them, and was unknown to most of them, and was not asked for by Presbyters, or Bishops, or people; and who was sent to Alexandria, not with Priests or Deacons, or with Bishops of Egypt, but with armed men; and who, when he arrived there, was guilty of barbarous cruelties and sacrilegious outrages. Which of the two parties is that which kindles the flames of discord? We, who mourn over these excesses, and have compassion on our afflicted brethren, or they who perpetrate them? Such things as these do not lead to the edification of the Church, but to its destruction;[1] and they who rejoice in them are not children of peace, but of confusion. I hear that there are some, few in number, who are authors of these evils; and I beseech you—you who have bowels of compassion—to do what in you lies that these things, which are contrary to the rules of the Church, may be corrected. I entreat you, by Christ, not to suffer His members to be torn in pieces. If

[9] See § 29, § 30, p. 118. Gregory was therefore ordained by Bishops at Antioch; but not, it seems, by an *act of the Synod:* Julius says the "authors of the evil were few."

[1] § 34.

Digitized by Google

any persons were in fault, letters should have been sent to us all, in order that what is just might have been decided by all; and if there was any charge against the Bishop of Alexandria, why was not a communication specially sent to this Church? Are you ignorant that such is the custom? that a letter should have been addressed to us, and so what is just should have been decided by us?[2] I pray you to discourage these acts of injustice, that we may not be a laughing-stock to the heathen, and provoke the anger of God, to Whom each of us will have to render an account at the Day of Judgment. Would to God that all may be of one mind according to His Will, and that the Churches, having their Bishops[3] restored to them, may rejoice for ever in Jesus Christ our Lord. Farewell, dearly beloved brethren, and longed-for, in the Lord."

Julius, perceiving that his letter had little effect with the Eusebians, addressed himself to the Western Emperor Constans, who wrote to his brother Constantius in the East,[4] and requested him to send three Bishops as Commissioners to render an account of the deprivation of Athanasius. Constantius despatched four from Antioch to Gaul. The Bishop of Treves, Maximin, asked for their pr ofession of faith;

[2] "These words of Julius (says the Abbé Fleury, iii. 299) are to be extended to all the Bishops of Italy, and perhaps to all the Bishops of the West. Such was the custom, as is testified by S. Ambrose in a letter to Theodosius the Great, written forty years after the letter of Julius." Ambrose, Epist. 13.

[3] Besides Athanasius, many other Bishops, expelled from their sees for their orthodoxy, had resorted to Rome: Marcellus of Ancyra, Asclepas of Gaza, Lucius of Adrianople, Paul of Constantinople, and others from Thrace, Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. See Montfaucon, Vit. Ath. p. xl.

[4] Socr. ii. 18. Soz iii. 10. Ath. de Syn. § 25. Fleury, iii. 299.

Digitized by Google

they did not offer the Nicene Creed, but presented to Constans the fourth formula of Antioch, which the Emperor and the Bishop would not accept.

After the Roman Synod above mentioned, Athanasius continued for three years at Rome. The tradition, now justly exploded, that the "*Quicunque Vult*"[5] was then exhibited by Athanasius to Julius, Bishop of Rome, has so far an historical basis, that those three years were spent by Athanasius in confirming the Western Church in the doctrines of the faith set forth in that formula. There is also a tradition, that at this time Athanasius drew up a "Synopsis" (or Canon) "of Holy Scripture."[6]

In A.D. 343, the fourth year after his arrival at Rome, Athanasius received from the Western Emperor Constans a summons to Milan. He thus describes the circumstances of it,[7] in his Apology to Constantius, who had charged him with embroiling him with his brother Constans :—

"I did not know why I was sent for, and I learnt that some Bishops who were there had requested him to write to your Piety. Believe me, Emperor, so the matter was. I lie not. Having come to Milan, I experienced his great kindness; he deigned to admit me to his presence, and told me that he had written to you, and had requested you that a Synod might be summoned. While I was sojourning in that city, I was sent back by him to Gaul; for the father

[5] See Waterland on the Athanasian Creed, Works, iv. 241—261; Keble's note on Hooker, V. xiii.

[6] See tom. ii. p. 96, ed. Bened. It corresponds with the Canon of Laodicea (see below, chap. vi.). The genuine *Athanasian "Canon of Scripture"* is in his "Festal Epistle," tom. i. p. 767, and corresponds with that in our Sixth Article. See Dr. Westcott on the Canon, pp. 520, 522. It will be referred to hereafter.

[7] Apol. ad Constantium, § 4.

Digitized by Google

Hosius had come thither, that we might go together to Sardica for the Council."

In the year 344[8] the Eusebians put forth a fifth formula (called the *macrostich* from its prolixity), which they sent to the Western Church. In it also they declined the use of the word *consubstantial*, and asserted that the Son is like the Father, and is true and perfect *God*, but had a beginning, and was *made*, though *not like other creatures*.[9]

To this long document of the Eastern Eusebians, the Western Bishops gave a short answer—that they were quite satisfied with the Nicene Creed, and did not want any other. And as the Eastern Bishops refused to condemn Arius, the Westerns declined further communion with them.[1]

Upon this, both Emperors agreed to summon a Council; and Sardica in Mœsia, on the frontier of the two Empires, was chosen for the place of meeting. The year of the Council was probably 344. It numbered about 170 Bishops, from more than thirty-five provinces of the West and East;[2] 100 were Western. Julius, Bishop of Rome, excused himself from attending, on account of his diocesan duties; but he sent two legates to the Council. Hosius, the Bishop of Corduba, who had taken the lead in the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325, was President also at Sardica.

Athanasius came to meet his accusers. Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza, attended for a similar purpose. The leading Eusebians also were there,

[8] For this date, see Athan. de Syn. § 26, and Montfaucon, p. 561.

[9] Athan. de Syn. § 26. Socr. ii. 19. Soz. iii. 11.

[1] S. Hilary, Frag. p. 673.

[2] On this Council, see Athan. Apol. § 36; ad Monachos, § 15—§ 17; Socr. ii. 20; Soz. iii. 11; Theodoret, i. 7; S. Hilar. Frag. p. 622.

Digitized by Google

Theodore of Heraclea, Acacius of Cæsarea, Eudoxius of Germanicia, and the celebrated Ursacius and Valens. They were escorted by two potent civil officers, or Counts (as they were called), Musonianus and Hesychius.

When, however, the Easterns perceived that the Council would be regulated by purely ecclesiastical laws, and that the officers who were with them would not be allowed to exercise any influence over it,[3] they separated themselves from the Synod, and held their sessions apart with closed doors, in a palace where they lodged. "We," says Athanasius, "appealed again and again to them, and to the other Bishops, and said to them; 'Behold, here are Athanasius and his friends, whom, when they were absent, ye accused. Come, therefore, now, and convict them.'" Hosius, the President of the Synod, addressed them also in words of mild and dignified remonstrance. But being stricken in conscience, and not expecting to find Athanasius there, and perceiving that many were there who brought accusations against them, they pleaded that the Emperor required their presence on account of his victory in Persia, and suddenly sounded a retreat to Philippopolis in Thrace.

The Synod at Sardica first considered the question of a profession of faith. After some discussion on the subject, and when some Bishops urged that a dogmatic formula should be framed and put forth by the Council, the Synod rejected the proposal by a large majority, and resolved that it would adhere wholly and exclusively to the Creed of Nicæa.

They next proceeded to inquire into the case of

[3] Athan. Apol. § 36; ad Monachos, § 15—§ 17.

Digitized by Google

Athanasius, and after a careful examination of the various charges against him, they pronounced him innocent, and declared that he had been unjustly deposed, and received him to communion.

They pronounced a like sentence on Marcellus of Ancyra, and on Asclepas of Gaza.

They also condemned their accusers as guilty of slander, and as contumacious. And they denounced as schismatical intruders, and not to be regarded as Bishops, Gregory of Alexandria, Basil of Ancyra, and Quintian of Gaza. They also condemned and deposed Theodore of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias, Stephen of Antioch, George of Laodicea, Acacius of Cæsarea, Menophantus of Ephesus, Ursacius of Singidunum, and Valens of Mursa.

They also wrote Synodical letters, giving an account of their proceedings,[4] to the Priests and Deacons and whole Church at Alexandria; to the Bishops in Egypt and Libya, and to all the Bishops of the Catholic Church throughout the world. These letters were subscribed not only by those who were present, but by others who gave their adhesion to them,[5] and the signatures amounted on the whole to 284; to which sixty-three may be added, says Athanasius,[6] who communicated their approval of the decrees by private letters.

A fourth Synodical letter was written to Pope Julius, and a fifth to the two Emperors, but this last is not extant.

The large number of Bishops subscribing these Encyclics of Sardica, is a proof that notwithstanding

[4] Inserted in Athan. Apol. § 37, § 50; S. Hilar. Frag. pp. 622— 29.
[5] Montfaucon, p. 132.
[6] Apol. § 50.

Digitized by Google

the counteracting influence of the Eastern Emperor, and of the Bishops swayed by him, the Nicene Faith was at that time maintained in a great portion of Christendom.

The Council of Sardica framed twenty Canons, some of which deserve careful attention.[7] Most of them are prefaced by the words "*Hosius said.*" They were proposed by him, and the Synod assented to them.

Canons 1 and 2 are against the translation of Bishops, and agree with the Council of Nicæa (Can. 15), and with that of Antioch (Can. 21).

Canons 3 and 5.[8]—On appeals in judicial causes of Bishops. If two Bishops of the same Province are at variance, neither of them shall appeal to a Bishop of another Province.

"If a Bishop has been condemned, and deems his cause to be good, so that the question should be renewed, let us honour, if you think fit, the memory of St. Peter the Apostle, and let those who have pronounced judgment, write to Julius, Bishop of Rome, that the case may be re-heard by the Bishops who are

[7] See Concil. General. ii. 627; Beveridge, Synod. i. 482; Bruns, Concil. pp. 89–105. There is a commentary on them in Hefele's Concilien-Geschichte, i. pp. 556—605, who (in p. 557) notices the fact that there are two recensions of these Canons, one in Greek and another in Latin, and is of opinion that they were originally promulgated in both languages; but these recensions differ much from one another, and it seems hardly probable that the Council itself would have authorized two documents with so many discrepancies between them. On comparing Canon 3 in the Greek with the same Canon as it stands in the Latin; and on comparing also Canon 5 in the Greek with the same Canon as it is in the Latin, where it is Canon 7, the reader may perhaps be inclined to think that the *Latin* recensions in the collections of Dionysius Exiguus and Isidore Mercator (in Labbe's Concilia, ii. 643—658; Bruns, pp. 90—92) are not original utterances of the Synod, but are more recent editions modified in the interests of the Roman See.

[8] I quote the numbers of the Canons as they stand in the Greek. In many cases I have only given a short summary of them.

Digitized by Google

neighbours to the Province, and let him appoint Judges ; but if he does not deem the matter to be such that it should be re-opened, let the former sentence stand good."

Canon 4.—If a Bishop has been deposed by neighbouring Bishops, and he declares that he has ground for an appeal, let not another Bishop be placed in his see, unless the Bishop of Rome give sentence to that effect.

Canon 5.—" If a Bishop shall have been accused, and the Bishops of the region being gathered together shall have deposed him ; and if he shall have fled, as it were, an appellant to the most blessed Bishop of Rome, and he should be willing to hear him, and deem it just to renew the examination of his cause ; let him vouchsafe to write to the brother-Bishops who are neighbours of the Province, that they should diligently and accurately examine each particular, and give their votes on the cause, according to the truth of the matter. And if any one deem it right that his own cause should be re-heard, and if the Bishop of Rome should be pleased at his request to send presbyters ; then the said Bishop may be authorized to do what he judges and decides to be best ; and persons invested with his authority may be sent by him to judge concurrently with the Bishops of the Province ; and let this rule be made. But if he thinks that those Bishops suffice for the cognizance of the matter, and for pronouncing sentence, let him do as seemeth best to his most prudent judgment."

These Canons have been quoted as authorizing *Appeals to Rome.*

But it has been rightly observed by some Roman Catholic writers (such as Archbishop de Marca, Dupin,

Digitized by Google

and Quesnel [9]) that these two Canons were designed to meet a special case, that of Athanasius, and to give a special privilege to Julius, the then Bishop of Rome; and that the case is not to be tried at Rome by the Bishop of Rome, but in the country where it arose, and by the Bishops of it, and that Julius may send assessors to them.

After all, the question is of comparatively little importance, inasmuch as the Council of Sardica was not a General one; its decrees were not *received* by the Eastern Church;[1] and Episcopal Appeals in Episcopal causes were afterwards regulated, as we shall see, in a very different way by a General Council, the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451).

We may add that it would have been an unhappy thing for Athanasius and the Faith which he maintained, if his cause had been made to depend on the judgment of the Bishop of Rome. In a few years afterwards, namely in A.D. 357, he was abandoned and condemned by a Bishop of Rome, Liberius.

Canons 8 and 20 are against Bishops resorting to the imperial Court for unworthy purposes.

[9] Whose words are quoted by the author of the present work in his Theophilus Anglicanus, part ii. chap. ii. See also the proofs, ibid. part iii. chap. vi., that the Canon Law of the Ancient Church committed the cases of Provincial Bishops to the judicial cognizance of their Metropolitans with their Suffragans as Assessors.

The Ultramontane view is ably maintained by Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, pp. 561—571, whose statements, however, would have been more likely to be accepted, if they were not grounded on a fundamental fallacy—viz. that the Bishop of Rome has, by divine right, a claim to receive appeals from every part of the Universal Church, and that this right is inherent in his office, and independent of any decrees of Sardica or of any other Council (p. 570).

[1] As to what constitutes a "General Council," see above, vol. i. 392. Cardinal Newman (on the Arians, p. 468, ed. 1876) says very truly, "Ecumenical Councils there were none between 325 and 381."

Digitized by Google

Canon 10.—No one (a rich man or lawyer) is to be consecrated Bishop without being first ordained Reader, Deacon, and Presbyter, in order (according to the Apostolic precept) that he may have a due time of probation.

Canon 11.—If a Bishop leaves his own Episcopal city, and goes to another with views of ambition and vain-glory, and if the Bishop of that city is inferior to him in learning, let him not despise him, and preach too often there, in order to disparage him, and to supplant him in his see. It is necessary to limit the time of such non-residence. You may remember that in a former Council,[2] a layman was deprived of communion if he omitted to come to his Parish Church for three successive Sundays. Much more ought a Bishop not to be absent from his own Cathedral Church, and abandon his people, without stringent necessity.

Canon 13.—A deacon, presbyter, or clerk, excommunicated by his own Bishop, is not to be admitted to communion by another.

Canon 17.—If a Bishop has suffered violence, and has been unjustly ejected on account of his learning and confession of the Catholic Faith, or for his vindication of the truth has fled from danger, and come to another city, let him not be hindered from dwelling there till he has found a deliverance from the injury he is suffering; for it would be harsh and very grievous that one enduring banishment wrongfully should not be received by us; nay, rather such a man ought to be received with all manner of benevolence and humanity.

This Canon, proposed by Olympius, was universally

[2] Perhaps Elvira, Canon 21.

Digitized by Google

accepted by the Fathers at the Council, and shows their sentiments with regard to Athanasius.

The Council of Sardica also sent two Bishops to Constantius, Vincentius of Capua and Euphratas of Cologne, by whom it announced to him the proceedings of the Synod. The envoys were fortified with a royal letter from Constans to his brother, in which he conjured him to restore Athanasius and the other banished Bishops to their sees, and even threatened him with war if he declined to do so.[3]

About this time Constans attempted also to heal the Donatistic Schism in Africa. He sent two envoys, Paul and Macarius, to Carthage,[3] who addressed themselves to Donatus, the schismatical Bishop of that city; but they were denounced as persecutors by the Donatists, who were guilty of cruel excesses and sacrilegious outrages. Some of the most violent, called Circumcellions, after a fit of phrensy, committed suicide, and were honoured as Martyrs. Gratus, the Bishop of Carthage,[4] who had been at Sardica, and was much esteemed by Hosius, assembled a Synod, which framed fourteen Canons.[5] The first was against rebaptization of any who had been once baptized with water in the Name of the Blessed Trinity. This was the more important as bearing on the controversy on Baptism in the days of S. Cyprian,[6] and as modifying the opinion which he and his brother-Bishops in Africa had enunciated in former Councils on that subject.

[3] Socr. ii. 22, 23. Sozom. iii. 20.

[4] Optatus, lib. iii. 8. Augustin. contra Ep. Parm. i. 18.

[5] See Concil. General. ii. p. 713; Bruns, Concilia, p. 111. Cp. Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, i. p. 633.

[6] See above, vol. i. pp. 13—315.

Digitized by Google

Canon 2.—Against honouring as Martyrs those who had been guilty of violence and suicide.

Canon 5.—On the obligation of commendatory letters, and against ordaining persons from other Dioceses, without the consent of their Diocesan.

Canon 11.—Against contumacious Clergymen. "Gratus said, 'It is clear that he who despises humility is not a man of God, but of the devil, who is the author of pride. If any one is contumacious, let him be judged, if he is a Deacon, by three neighbouring Bishops; if he is a Priest, by six; if he is a Bishop, by twelve Bishops.' All the Bishops answered that contempt, contumacy, and pride ought to be crushed (*frangi*) in all men; and let the cause be heard by the appointed number of Judges."

With regard to this Canon, it will be remembered that in the North African Province, in which Carthage was, the Dioceses were small, and the Bishops numerous, in comparison with modernDioceses.

After the Council of Sardica, Athanasius retired to Naissus in Dacia, quietly waiting the result of the communication from Constans to his brother. He thence went to Aquileia, on the invitation of Constans, with whom he was a fellow-worshipper in a new Church, and with whom he had an interview in the presence of the Bishop, Fortunatianus.[7]

The Eastern Council of Arians withdrew from Sardica to Philippopolis in Thrace, and there made reprisals on the Westerns. They condemned and

[7] Ad Monachos, § 21. Apol. § 54, § 5. Apol. ad Constantium, § 3. It was providential that Athanasius never had an interview with Constans alone, but always in company with the Bishop of the city where he was (Padua, Verona, Lodi, Milan, Treves), because he was afterwards traduced to Constantius as if he had prejudiced Constans against him. Montfaucon, Vit. p. xlvii.

Digitized by Google

excommunicated Pope Julius, Hosius, Athanasius, Paul, Marcellus, Asclepas, and others; and wrote an Encyclic Epistle.[8] It is addressed to Gregory, the intrusive Bishop of Alexandria; to Amphion, Bishop of Nicomedia; and to Donatus, the leader of the schismatics in Carthage;[9] and to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Catholic Church; and purports to come from a Council which they have held at Sardica.

In this Epistle they reiterated the charges against Athanasius, which they had not made in his presence at Sardica, when challenged to do so. They accuse Marcellus of Ancyra, Paul of Constantinople, and Asclepas of Gaza as heretics. They complain of Julius, Bishop of Rome, as ringleader of evil men, and opening the door of communion to condemned malefactors; and they stigmatize Hosius as uncanonically claiming jurisdiction over Bishops in the East; and they say, "We openly command, most dearly beloved brethren, that none of you ever communicate with Hosius, Protogenes, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, Julius." This letter is subscribed by Stephanus Bishop of Antioch, Menophantus of Ephesus, Theodore of Heraclea, Acacius of Cæsarea, Demophilus of Berœa, Valens of Mursa, and others, altogether seventy-three in number.[1]

They also put forth a creed,[2] which is Catholic in

[8] See Concil. General. ii. 698—712, where the Council is called "Conciliabulum" and "pseudo-Synodus." It is preserved by S. Hilary, p. 647, as there quoted.

[9] In Augustine's time Cresconius the Donatist appealed to this letter as an Epistle of the Council of *Sardica*, and was refuted by Augustine (ad Crescon. iii. 34).

[1] In the Epistle, p. 705, they say "nos octoginta numero" came to Sardica. Some fell off from them.

[2] Ibid. p. 710; and S. Hilary de Synodis, p. 482; Frag. p. 664.

Digitized by Google

HOBART HALL, AT UNIV. OF MICH.

its language, but is liable to the grave objection that it was designed to supersede that of Nicæa, which was maintained by the true Synod of Sardica.

"Think not that I came to send peace on earth," was our Lord's prophetic declaration: "I came not to send peace, but rather a sword (Matt. x. 34). This saying was now fulfilled. The East was divided from the West. The West was united; but the East was divided in itself.

There were, however, cheering circumstances in this division. It brought out more clearly essential principles of true union. The Athanasians and their bitterest opponents were united in recognizing the Veracity and Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Both appealed to it as divine. Both recognized the Christian Sacraments, and the one Apostolic form of Church Government; both concurred in condemning Photinus[3] and his doctrine that Christ was merely man. Arianism, which has led to Socinianism, would have disclaimed its own offspring.

But an unexpected incident now occurred, which turned the tide of affairs.

The Emperor Constantius was at Antioch. Vincent of Capua, and Euphratas of Cologne, the Episcopal delegates to him from the Council of Sardica above mentioned, had arrived there at Easter, with the missives from the Council and the letter of his brother Constans, desiring him—not without menacing words—to restore Athanasius and the banished Bishops to their sees.

The two Bishops were lodged in the same house at

"This symbol," says Fleury, p. 338, "n'a rien de remarquable que l'omission affectée de *consubstantiel*."

[3] The West at Milan, the East at Sirmium.

Digitized by Google

Antioch, in adjoining rooms. At night-time one of them was startled by the appearance of a woman, who was no less astonished to see an aged man in his bed. A clamour arose from both. She was a harlot of that city, having been suborned by a ruffian called Onager, who had not told her whom she would find there, and who with some fifteen accomplices was lying in wait near the house. They rushed in, and he endeavoured to induce the woman to affirm that she had been sent for by Euphratas and his companion. But she refused to do so; the plot was discovered, and brought before Sulianus, the military commander of the city; and from him it came to the ears of the Emperor.[4] On inquiry, the conspiracy was traced to Stephanus, the Arian Bishop of Antioch, whose name stands at the head of the seventy-three who subscribed the Encyclic of Philippopolis.

Such a conspiracy as this revealed the animus of some who had been led by the Bishop of Antioch; and is an evidence of their unscrupulousness in fabricating calumnies against Athanasius and his friends, and of the malignity by which they were actuated against them. But good came out of evil. The Emperor Constantius drew the reasonable inference from this specimen of injustice and calumny.

Stephanus, who had taken the lead at Philippopolis in deposing the Catholic Bishops, was himself deposed by judicial sentence at Antioch.[5]

Constantius, rightly conjecturing that he had been deceived by his Arian advisers, and also stirred by the grand manifesto of the Bishops at Sardica, and by the energetic appeal of Constans; and moved, we may

[4] See Athan. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. § 10. Theodoret, ii. 7.
[5] Theodoret, ii. 8.

Digitized by Google

believe, by commiseration for long and unmerited suffering, and by admiration of fortitude and firmness of character, made a sudden and entire change for a time in his conduct to Athanasius; and the Emperor who had been his persecutor, and had driven him from Alexandria, now became his suppliant, and entreated him to return to it; and he who had been threatened by Constans, now requested Constans to allow Athanasius to come to him, that he might restore him to his see.

Another no less unexpected event helped to turn the tide in the same direction. Ten months after the deposition of Stephanus of Antioch, Gregory, who had been intruded by the civil power into the See of Alexandria, and was guilty of cruel enormities, had exasperated the people of Alexandria by his barbarities, and was killed by them in a popular insurrection; and thus the way was cleared for a return of its lawful Bishop [6] to that city.

Constantius addressed three letters to Athanasius [7] as follows:—"Our clemency no longer allows thee to be tossed about by the wild waves and stormy sea—thee, who hast been driven from thy home, and spoiled of thy goods. Although I deferred writing to thee, because I hoped that thou wouldst come to me of thine own accord, and ask for a respite from thy labours, yet since perhaps fear hath deterred thee from coming, I send to thy fortitude this letter full of benevolence, in order that thou mayest come to my presence, and attain thy desire, and experience my

[6] Theodoret, ii. 9. Athan. Hist. Arian. § 21.

[7] Preserved by Athan. Apol. § 51, p. 134; Socr. ii. 23. In the translation of this and the following letters, some paragraphs are abridged, and others are paraphrased.

Digitized by Google

goodness, and be restored to thy home. And for this cause I have requested my Lord and brother Constans, Victor, Augustus, on thy behalf, to allow thee to come to me, in order that by the authority of us both, thou mayest be restored to thy country, and obtain this pledge of our favour."

In the second letter, the Emperor offers him the use of the public carriages, and desires him to come as quickly as he can.

In the third, he expresses his surprise that Athanasius has not come to him, and sends a deacon with a letter to him, signifying his desire that he would hasten to him, and so be restored to his own country.

"When I received these letters of the Emperor," says Athanasius, "I was at Aquileia; and on receiving them, I returned to Rome, that I might bid farewell to the Church, which was filled with joy by the news; and Julius, rejoicing in my return, wrote a letter to the Church of Alexandria; and the Bishops, in our progress thither, received me everywhere with peace."

The letter of Julius, Bishop of Rome, was as follows:[8]—

"Julius to the priests, deacons, and people of Alexandria. I rejoice with you, beloved brethren, that you behold with your eyes the fruit of your faith. Any one may see this realized in our brother and fellow-Bishop, Athanasius, whom God now restores to you on account of the holiness of his life, and your prayers. Clear it is, that you have offered to God for him supplications full of piety and love. You remembered the divine promises, and that training which leads to their attainment, in which you were nur-

[8] Athan. Apol. § 52, p. 135.

Digitized by Google

tured by our brother's teaching; and ye have been persuaded by a sound faith that he whom ye bore ever in your hearts would not always be parted from your eyes. I need not write much; your own faith anticipates what I have to say, and has fulfilled our common desire through God's grace. I rejoice therefore with you that you have kept your minds unconquerably settled in the true faith; and I rejoice no less with my brother Athanasius, in that while he was suffering many hardships, he was not unmindful of your love for a single hour. For though absent in body, he was present with you in spirit. He is now returning to you, much more glorious than when he left you. If precious metals, such as silver and gold, are tried by the fire, what can be worthily said of so great a man, who has overcome the perils of so many afflictions, and who returns to you having been declared innocent, not only by us, but by the judgment of the whole Synod? Receive therefore, beloved brethren, with all joy, and glory to God, your Bishop Athanasius."

He then describes by anticipation the gladness and exultation with which they will welcome him at Alexandria, and tells them that he shares their joy, and realizes it, inasmuch as he has had the privilege, which God had given him, of knowing such a man.

"Let us," he adds,[9] "as in duty bound, close this letter with prayer. May God Almighty and His Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, grant to you His perpetual grace, and crown the admirable faith which

[9] Some paragraphs, still more laudatory of Athanasius, and condemnatory of his Arian enemies and persecutors, are contained in the copy of this letter of Julius which is preserved by Socr. ii. 23; but they are omitted by Athanasius himself—an interesting fact, as showing his modesty and charity.

Digitized by Google

you have shown with regard to your Bishop, by a glorious testimony. May He grant you and your posterity in this world and the next those good things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, which God hath prepared for them that love Him, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by Whom be glory to God Almighty for ever and ever. Amen.

Farewell in the Lord, dearly beloved brethren."

The Emperor Constantius also addressed a letter [1] on behalf of Athanasius to the Bishops and Priests of the Catholic Church, in which the Emperor bears a striking testimony to his innocence and patience, and also to the soundness of his faith.

"The most reverend Athanasius has not been left destitute of God's favour, inasmuch as, although for a short time he has been subject to trial, he has received the merited suffrage of approval from Divine Providence which sees all things; and he has been restored by God's will and by our judgment to his country, and to the Church over which by God's appointment he presides. He ought to receive his deserts from our clemency. All decrees, therefore, that were heretofore framed against those who communicated with him, are now to be consigned to oblivion, and all suspicion against them to be abolished; and all immunities are to be confirmed which were enjoyed by the Clergy in his communion. And let all Ecclesiastics take notice that the safety of all who have adhered to him is assured to them. Communion with Athanasius shall be adjudged to be sufficient proof of soundness of faith; and we have ordered that all who, by reason of their better judg-

[1] Athan. Apol. § 54, p. 136.

Digitized by Google

ment and condition, choose his communion, shall enjoy similar favour from us. May God have you in His keeping."

Constantius also wrote a letter to "the people of the Catholic Church of Alexandria."[2] He was aware, he says, that they had long been destitute of the care of their Bishop, and therefore he sends to them their Bishop Athanasius again, "a man known to all for his rectitude of life and conversation;" and he exhorts them to receive him with their whole heart and soul, in peace, and to co-operate with him in prayers, in order that the heathen may be converted by their good life to the true faith. "I have given orders," he says, "to the secular magistrates to repress all sedition and riot among you;" and he exhorts them to dwell in concord and brotherly love. In addition to this, Constantius gave orders that whatever things, being deceived by the calumnies of the Eusebians, he had written against Athanasius,[3] should be effaced from the public records by the Duke and Præfects of Egypt; and they were cancelled accordingly. He also sent letters to the Præfects of Thebais and Libya, in which he commanded that all such edicts should be expunged by them, and that all who communicated with Athanasius should be restored to their former privileges.

Athanasius now proceeded homewards; he saw Constans again; passed through Hadrianople[4]—where he beheld the graves of laymen who had been killed by Arian Bishops—to Antioch, where he was graciously received by Constantius,[5] who sent from Antioch the

[2] Athan. Apol. § 55, p. 137.
[3] Ibid. § 56, p. 137.
[4] Hist. Arian. § 18, § 22.
[5] Apol. ad Const. § 5; Hist. Arian. § 22, § 44. Socr. ii. 23. Theodoret, ii. 9. Sozom. iii. 20.

Digitized by Google

letters to Alexandria which have been already inserted. At Antioch he did not communicate with the Arian Bishop Leontius, but with the Eustathians, so called from their former Bishop and Confessor. When he was at Antioch, the Emperor asked him to grant a Church at Alexandria to the Arians, which he promised to do on the condition that the Arians should grant to the Eustathians a Church at Antioch. The Emperor approved the request, but the Arians would not accede to it.

From Antioch Athanasius went to Jerusalem, where a Council of Bishops, with Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, at their head, was assembled to do him honour, and addressed a congratulatory Synodical Epistle in his favour to the Bishops of Egypt, and to the Priests, Deacons, and Laity of Alexandria.[6]

"We cannot," they say, "adequately thank the Lord of all for the wonders which He works everywhere, and especially for your Church, inasmuch as He restores to you your Pastor and our fellow-minister Athanasius. For who ever hoped to see those things which ye now enjoy? Your supplications have been heard by the Lord of all, Who takes care of so great a Church as yours, and beholds your tears, and has answered your prayers. Behold, we are sharers in your love, and have embraced him before you, and have held communion with him, and send this greeting to you. It is your part, therefore, to pray for the piety of the most religious Emperors, who, in regard for your desire and for his innocence, which they now recognize, have willed to restore him with all honours to you. Therefore, receive him with

[6] Concil. General. p. 726. Athan. Apol. § 57; Hist. Arian. ad Mon. § 25.

Digitized by Google

open arms, and render hearty thanks to God, the Giver of this blessing, and alway rejoice in God and glorify Him in Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom be glory to His Father for evermore."

Athanasius says[7] that some Bishops who had formerly assented to his condemnation, recanted; and that all the Bishops of Palestine, with two or three exceptions (such, probably, as Acacius of Cæsarea, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis), communicated with him.

Even Ursacius and Valens, his two bitterest enemies, sent a penitential submission in writing to Julius, in which they condemned Arianism and its partisans as heretical, and acknowledged, in the presence of their Clergy, that the accusations in which they had joined against Athanasius were calumnious and false.[8] A copy of this submission was sent to Athanasius in Latin by the Bishop of Treves.

Ursacius and Valens also sent a letter to Athanasius, in which they professed themselves to be in communion with him, and requested a similar assurance from him.

He came to Alexandria on Oct. 21, A.D. 346.[9] Universal joy was diffused by his return. "Who," he says, "that beheld such peace in our Churches, did not wonder at the sight?[1] Who was not gladdened by the concord of so many and great Bishops? Who did not glorify God for the joy of the people in the assemblies of the Church? How many enemies repented of their hate! How many calumniators apologized for their slander! How

[7] Ad Mon. § 25; Apol. § 57.

[8] Apol. § 58; Hist. Arian. ad Mon. § 26. Socr. ii. 24. Sozom. iii. 23, 24.

[9] This is the date according to the Festal Index.

[1] Hist. Arian. § 27.

Digitized by Google

many exchanged hatred for love! How many who had formerly been partisans of Arianism, not by conviction but by coercion, came and asked for pardon, and said that while in bodily presence they were with the Arians, they were in heart with Athanasius!"

He also speaks of the religious change produced among all classes by this event.[2]

Gregory Nazianzen, describing this return in one of his orations,[3] says, "That noble athlete Athanasius came back to his own city from his glorious pilgrimage (such his flight was, for it was to the honour of the Blessed Trinity, and with its guidance), and he found all the city, nay, almost all Egypt, transported with joy, and flowing together from all parts to one place, and mounted on every high place, to catch a glimpse of Athanasius, or the sound of his voice, or even the passing by of his shadow. The glory of Athanasius seemed to eclipse that of the Emperor himself, such was the veneration for him. Both sexes, all families and professions, vied in paying honour to him. They were like a river—a poet would call them a Nile—flowing with gold, and fruitful with corn, and ebbing backward from the city a day's journey to Chœreus,[4] and farther. He was riding meekly on a foal: the crowd welcomed him with plaudits and acclamations. Sweet perfumes were poured forth; the city blazed with lights in the night; and public and private banquets, and all other signs of public rejoicing, hailed his return. He proceeded to the Church. No symptoms of passion were apparent in his demeanour against any. Others who had been

[2] Apol. § 57.

[3] Orat. xxi. on Athanasius, §§ 27, 29, 31.

[4] The first outpost of Alexandria. Athan. Vit. Ant. § 86.

Digitized by Google

cruelly persecuted would have chosen the day of triumph for a season of revenge. But he was most glorious in his mildness to those who had injured him. He did indeed purge the temple by driving the buyers and sellers from it. But he lovingly reconciled those who had striven with him. He liberated those who had been enslaved by the tyranny of heresy. He made no distinction between foes and friends. He raised up the prostrate Faith. The doctrine of the Trinity, placed like a bright light on a candlestick, was now again freely preached, and illuminated the minds of all with the radiant glory of the Godhead. He gave laws to the world, and attracted the minds of all to himself by writing to some, and by inviting others, and teaching others who spontaneously resorted to him, and promoting universal free-will. In a word, he joined in himself the virtues of two jewels: he was an adamant to those who struck him, and a magnet to those who strove with him."

In the spring of A.D. 347, Athanasius opened his Festal Letter, or ante-Paschal Pastoral, with words of thanksgiving for the blessings he had received in being brought back to his own city from far-off lands; and he appears to have been then engaged in holding a Synod in Alexandria, in which the decrees of Sardica were confirmed; and in making Episcopal Visitations in his province for a considerable time.[5]

Three years passed away quietly; the Church appeared at length to be at peace. But it was in appearance alone. She was soon to learn another lesson of patience and courage in adversity and persecution, from the example of Athanasius and his friends. And she was to be taught that her true

[5] Socr. ii. 26. Sozom. iv. 1.

Digitized by Google

strength lies, not in the support of Princes, but in the protection of the King of Kings.

Athanasius had been deprived of the aid of the eldest Emperor, Constantine the younger, after a short reign of three years; and now in the twenty-fourth year of his Episcopate he lost his faithful defender and friend, the Emperor of the West, Constans, treacherously slain by rebels and conspirators under Magnentius, who usurped the title of Emperor in the early spring of the year 350; and the whole Roman Empire now passed under the sway of Constantius.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IV.

From the death of Constans, A.D. 350 (*when Constantius became sole Emperor*), *to the death of Constantius,* A.D. 361.

By the death of Constans, Constantius became the Master of the Roman World. He was not without good qualities. He was sober, temperate, and chaste; sparing in food, drink, and sleep; vigorous in body, a good rider, skilful in martial exercises, and in the use of the spear and the bow, and in the science of arms and armoury, especially for infantry.[1] But he was easily swayed by courtly flatterers, and yet tenacious of his own dignity, and a scrupulous observer of pettinesses in etiquette, so that it is said[2] he was never seen to blow his nose in public, or to turn his head from one side to the other, or to taste any fruit. He affected to be thought learned and eloquent, and was a dilettante in versifying. In some respects he was an Ecclesiastical Claudius. He was fond of dogmatizing on theological matters, of which he knew little; having never been trained in catechetical discipline, as the Arians themselves confessed.[3] He was fanatical rather than religious; for instance, in the Council at Milan, he said that he had received

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. xxi. 16. [2] Ibid.
[3] Sulpic. Sever. lib. ii. 39

Digitized by Google

from God a Creed in a dream, which he desired the Bishops to receive. When under good influence, he was amiable and compassionate; but when subject to the sway of evil advisers—which was often the case—his moral and intellectual weaknesses made him one of the worst of tyrants,[4] especially when he became sole Sovereign of the Roman World.

Constantius appears to have sympathized with Athanasius on the loss he had suffered by the death of Constans. He wrote to him a considerate letter of condolence[5] in cociliatory terms:—

"Thy prudence cannot but be aware of my anxiety for the prosperity of my brother Constans, and can appreciate my grief on hearing of his death by the hands of wicked men. Since that time, inasmuch as some persons are attempting to terrify thee in this mournful season, I therefore have deemed it right to send this letter to thy constancy, and to exhort thee to teach thy people, as a Bishop ought to do, those things which appertain to divine religion; and to devote thyself habitually to prayer, and to give no credit to idle tales, whatever they may be; for it is a resolve steadfastly fixed in my mind that thou, in accordance with my will and pleasure, shouldst remain undisturbed in thy see." In another hand were added the words, "May the providence of God preserve thee for many years, most beloved father."

This letter was occasioned by the charges brought against Athanasius by his adversaries, availing themselves of the opportunity afforded by the death of

[4] Ammian. Marcellin. xxi. 16.

[5] It is inserted by Athanasius in his Apology to Constantius, § 23; also in his History ad Monachos, § 24.

Digitized by Google

Constans.[6] Among them Ursacius and Valens repented of their recantation.[7]

Constantius, however, was then otherwise engaged, being occupied with an expedition against Sapor, King of Persia. His troops were successful in this campaign;—the historians say,[8] by the help of the prayers of James, the saintly Bishop of Nisibis, which city was besieged by the Persians, who were routed before it. Constantius next marched, in the month of June, 350, from Antioch into Dacia, against the usurper Magnentius. In reviewing his troops, he exhorted all his soldiers, who had not been baptized, to receive the Sacrament of Baptism,[9] representing to them the uncertainty of life, and the dangers of the battle-field. He himself was not baptized till about eleven years afterwards; but perhaps he did not expose his life to the same dangers.[1] He succeeded in bringing Vetranion, an accomplice of Magnentius, to terms[2] in December, A.D. 350, and having raised his Cousin Gallus (the elder brother of Julian) to the dignity of Cæsar in March, 351, and given him charge of the Eastern frontier bordering on Persia, Constantius marched from Pannonia to Sirmium, on the south-east of Pannonia.

While Constantius was at Sirmium, a Council was held, especially of Eastern Bishops, principally Arians, against Photinus, Bishop of that see.[3] He was de-

[6] Apol. ad Arian. ad init. Socr. ii. 26.

[7] Athan. ad Mon. § 29.

[8] Theodoret, ii. 26. Philos. iii. 22, 23.

[9] Theodoret, iii. 1.

[1] At the great engagement of Mursa, as we shall see, Constantius remained at some distance from the field of battle, see p. 144, note 6.

[2] Zosim. p. 694. Socr. ii. 28. Sozom. iv. 4.

[3] Socr. ii. 29. Sozom. iv. 6.

Digitized by Google

posed by them for heresy, in asserting that Christ was mere man; for which he had been condemned already by the Westerns at Milan, and on several other occasions. Germanicus of Cyzicum was placed as Bishop in his see.

They also framed another formula of faith,[4] which might have been regarded as Catholic, if the opinions of its framers, some of whom had been deposed at Sardica, had not been well known; and if they had not intended thereby to supersede the Nicene Creed; as was more clearly shown by their act some years afterwards, in the same place, Sirmium, A.D. 357, when they propounded another Creed, which was directly opposed to the Nicene.[5]

They added to their Creed in A.D. 351 twenty-eight anathemas against pure Arianism, Sabellianism, and Photinianism. They intended to display thereby to Constantius their zeal for orthodoxy. And they did not, as yet, bring any charge against Athanasius, or make any reference to the Council of Sardica; but their proceedings were characterized by caution and reserve.

Not long after this Council, the battle of Mursa, not far to the north-west of Sirmium, was fought (Sept. 28, 351) by the troops of Constantius against the usurper Magnentius, who was totally routed in the engagement, and who, about two years afterwards, fell by his own hand at Lyons.

Constantius was not present at the battle,[6] but remained at a little distance from it in the church of

[4] Athan. de Synod. § 27. Hilar. de Synod. § 38. Socr. ii. 30.

[5] See Athan. de Synod. § 28.

[6] "Constantius descendere in aspectum pugnæ non ausus, in basilicâ Martyrum extra oppidum deversatus est." Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Eccl. ii. 38.

Digitized by Google

the Martyrs. The Bishop of Mursa, Valens, the inveterate enemy of Athanasius, was with him. He had contrived that he himself should be the first to receive the news of the issue of the contest. He immediately communicated the tidings to Constantius. "Who brought them to you?" asked the Emperor. "An angel" was the reply. "Not by the valour of my troops," said Constantius, "but by thy prayers has the victory been won."[7]

The impressible and superstitious mind of Constantius was influenced by this event. It gave an impulse to the sway of Valens and his coadjutors over him, and helped to prejudice him against Athanasius. In the words of the historian,[8] "the leading Arians had so beset the court, that the Emperor did nothing without their assent, being dependent on them all, and specially devoted to Valens."

Another circumstance occurred which he interpreted as a sign of the divine favour and approval. In this year he received a letter from Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, describing the appearance in that city on the 7th of May, being Whitsuntide, of a luminous Cross, which extended itself from Mount Calvary to the Mount of Olives, and was visible to all the inhabitants in the forenoon of that day, and continued to be so for some hours, and more brilliant than the sun. "During the time of your father Constantine of blessed memory," says S. Cyril, "the sacred wood of the Cross was found at Jerusalem; but now, in your days, miracles come not from earth, but from heaven.

[7] Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Eccl. ii. 38.

[8] Sulpic. Sever. ibid. These Arian leaders were Ursacius, Valens, Theodorus Bishop of Heraclea, Stephen of Antioch, Acacius of Cæsarea, Menophantus of Ephesus, George of Laodicea, Narcissus of Neronopolis.

Digitized by Google

All the people, of all ranks and of all ages, flocked to the Church to glorify God for this apparition, and all praised our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Worker of miracles, when they beheld the truth of His religion attested by heaven." And Cyril desired the Emperor to give glory for ever to the holy consubstantial Trinity.[9]

Constantius was greatly elated by his victories over Persia and Magnentius, and by such communications as these from S. Cyril, and was puffed up by the adulation of his Arianizing courtiers, who ventured to style him "Eternal." As Athanasius and Hilary[1] observe, "Those persons who denied the Eternity of Christ, ascribed Eternity to the Emperor."

During the respite of peace which Athanasius enjoyed after his return in the autumn of A.D. 346, he employed himself in the active discharge of his Episcopal functions, and in some literary works. He wrote at this time, it is supposed,[2] his Apology against the Arians, and his work on the decrees of Nicæa, and on the opinion of his great predecessor Dionysius on the word *homoousios*.

The enemies of the Faith, who had been condemned at Sardica, and who were exasperated against Athanasius as the cause of their degradation, looked with a jealous eye on his prosperity. More than four hundred Bishops were now in communion with him, and he appeared to exercise the principal spiritual sway in Christendom. Julius, Bishop of Rome, his powerful ally, was removed by death on April 12,

[9] On this letter, see Valesius and others in Sozomen, iv. 5; Socr. ii. 28; S. Cyril Hieros. p. 305, ed. Oxon. 1703.

[1] See Montfaucon, Vit. Ath. liv.

[2] Montfaucon, ibid. pp. lii—liii; and see above, vol. i. 304, 397, 399, 452.

Digitized by Google

A.D. 352, and was succeeded by Liberius. The foes of Athanasius[3] had prevailed upon Ursacius and Valens to retract their recantation; and Valens, who had great influence with the Emperor, was induced by them to represent to Constantius, that if Athanasius were left in peace, he would tyrannize over them all, and would anathematize his opponents, including the Emperor himself, as no better than Manichæans; and that it was the Emperor's duty and interest to protect and favour that religious party which was most loyal to him.[4] Being moved by these suggestions, Constantius changed his mind, and forgot all his promises to Athanasius, and his reverence for the memory of his deceased brother, Constans.

An event had happened at Alexandria which offered a convenient plea for accusations against Athanasius. He had officiated at Easter in the magnificent building which had been originally a temple, erected by the Emperor Hadrian, and thence called Hadrianeum, and which was enlarged and beautified by Constantius, and was named Cæsarea from him, but which had not yet been completed; consequently the Emperor had not as yet given any instructions for its Consecration. Athanasius was prevailed upon by the importunate solicitations of the people, for whom there was not sufficient room in the other churches of the city, to open it for Divine worship at that great festal season,[5] when they flocked to it in great multitudes for prayer and Holy Communion.

This act of presumption, as they called it, was one ground of accusation against him. Other charges

[3] Athan. ad Mon. § 28—§ 30.
[4] Ibid. § 30.
[5] Athan. Apol. ad Const. § 14.

Digitized by Google

were that he had prejudiced Constans against his brother Constantius, and that he had corresponded with the rebel Magnentius.[6]

An opportunity was presented for bringing forward these charges in the month of October, A.D. 354. After the death of Magnentius, Constantius came to Arles, and a Synod was then held there in his presence. Athanasius, while absent, was arraigned by his enemies. Liberius, Bishop of Rome, sent Vincent of Capua to defend him, who had been at the Roman Synod in A.D. 342, and at Sardica in 344, and had been much esteemed and trusted by Julius, Bishop of Rome. He was probably the same Vincentius who had been a legate from Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, at Nicæa. He brought with him letters from many Eastern Bishops, especially from eighty Bishops of Egypt, in defence of Athanasius. Constantius received Vincent with anger, and threatened him and other Bishops with banishment unless they condemned Athanasius. Vincent was panic-struck, and subscribed the act of condemnation.[7] Liberius mourned over his fall, and wrote to Cæcilian, Bishop of Spoleto, "I pray that this defection may not shake your firmness;" and in a letter to Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, he said, "I have resolved rather to die for God than abandon the truth."[8] Liberius little knew what he himself would do. The Bishop of Treves stood firm, and was banished to Phrygia, where he died.[9]

Liberius sent letters of remonstrance to Constantius

[6] Athan. Apol. ad Const. § 6. All these charges are answered by Athanasius in that Apology to Constantius.

[7] Hilar. Frag. p. 676. Athan. Apol. ad Const. § 27.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Hilar. ad Const. pp. 540, 562, 570; Frag. p. 621. Athan. de Fugâ, § 4; ad Mon. § 76.

Digitized by Google

by the hands of envoys, men of courage and of ability, such as Lucifer of Cagliari, in Sardinia, and expressed his astonishment at what had been done under the Emperor's auspices at Arles; and entreated him to give permission for the holding of a Synod to deliberate on the matter.

The Emperor complied with his request, and summoned a Council, to be held at Milan, where it met in A.D. 355. That Council was disastrous to the Church.[1] More than 300 Bishops were present, few of them friends of Athanasius. The Council of Arles had alarmed his allies. Constantius himself was at Milan. Eusebius, Bishop of Vercellæ, a noble confessor of the faith, proposed that they should prove their orthodoxy by subscribing the Creed of Nicæa. Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, another confessor, put his name to it. Valens seized the pen and paper. A tumult arose. The Arians—Valens and Ursacius at their head—quitted the Church, and being "afraid of the people of Milan, who adhered with noble zeal to the Catholic[2] faith," hastened to the palace, where the Emperor was. "Thence they put forth an Epistle in the Emperor's name," says Sulpicius,[3] "tainted with heretical pravity, with the intent that if the people accepted it, it might be promulged on public authority; but if not, the Emperor would be held responsible for it; and its errors would be venial, since he, being only a catechumen, could not be supposed to be well versed in the mysteries of the faith." Constantius adopted it, and professed that he had received it from heaven in a dream. The Bishops of the Court were complacent, and said that the Emperor desired the

[1] Socr. ii. 36. Sozom. iv. 9. [2] Sulpic. Sever. ii. 39.
[3] Ibid.

Digitized by Google

peace of the Church, and that his recent victories in war proved that he was favoured by heaven. But the bold Bishop of Cagliari protested against it, and affirmed that the Nicene Creed—and that alone—was to be maintained; and that not even if all the Emperor's troops were present, would he ever assent to a sacrilegious edict, or cease to execrate what was a blasphemy against God. Happily he had the people of Milan on his side. When the Emperor's letter was read in their presence in the Church, they rejected it with abhorrence.[4] Constantius sent for the recusant Bishops, Lucifer, Eusebius, and Dionysius, and commanded them to condemn Athanasius. They declined to do so.[5] His accusers, they said, Ursacius and Valens, had formerly recanted their accusation, and were not entitled to credit. "But I am his accuser," replied the Emperor. "How canst thou accuse a man who is absent?" was the reply. "This is not Roman law. It is not the law of the Church." "But my will is law." The Bishops lifted up their hands in prayer to God, and besought Him to teach the Emperor that the Empire itself was God's, Who had entrusted him with it. Constantius drew his sword, and threatened them with death, but exchanged that sentence for exile. Lucifer was banished to Germanicia, Eusebius to Scythopolis, and Dionysius to Cappadocia. The priest Eutropius, and the deacon Hilarius, sent by Liberius, were not allowed to return to Rome; the latter was scourged, among the insults of the courtiers, and gave thanks to God.[6]

[4] Sulpic. Sever. ibid. Hilar. Apol. ad Const. p. 571. Lucifer Calarit. pp. 780, 787, and notes in ed. Migne, Patrol. tom. xiii.

[5] Athan. ad Mon. §§ 33, 34, 76.

[6] Ibid. § 41.

Digitized by Google

The banishment of these and other Confessors, to different and distant regions, in order that they might not hold counsel with one another, was overruled by God's providence for good. Their teaching and their sufferings had a missionary character, and diffused the true faith wherever they went.[7]

Among the Western Bishops who suffered for the faith was S. Hilary, the Bishop of Poictiers, who was banished to Phrygia,[8] and rendered great service to the East and West by his writings on the doctrine of the Trinity, and on Synods; and who addressed a letter to Constantius on the wrongs inflicted by him on the Church.

A general persecution now raged in almost all parts of the Empire. Some Bishops remained firm, such as Maximus of Naples, and Rufinianus of Civita Vecchia; some were deposed from their sees, or martyred; others lapsed from the faith.

Constantius next proceeded to assail the chief Bishop of the West, Liberius of Rome.[1] He sent to him his high chamberlain, Eusebius the Eunuch, with gifts and promises of favour, and desired him to condemn Athanasius. Liberius declined the gifts, and refused to comply. Intelligence of this was sent to the Emperor, and Liberius was conveyed away from Rome by night.[2] The heathen historian Ammianus relates that when Liberius was admonished to subscribe to the deposition of Athanasius, in accordance with the sentence of others, and at the command of the Emperor, he persevered in refusing to do so, exclaiming that it would be the extremity of injustice to condemn a man unseen and unheard. "Constan-

[7] Athan. ad Mon. § 31—§ 34.
[8] Sulpic. Sever. ii. 39.
[1] Athan. ad Mon. § 39.
[2] Ibid. Ammian. Marcellin. xv. 7.

Digitized by Google

tius (adds Ammianus) being always hostile to Athanasius, although he knew that the sentence was already pronounced, yet earnestly desired that it should be ratified by the authority, as being pre-eminent,[3] of the Bishop of the Eternal City. And when he did not obtain his wish, Liberius was with difficulty carried away from Rome at midnight, through fear of the Roman people, by whom he was much beloved."

The dialogue of Liberius with Constantius has been preserved by the Church-historian Theodoret.[4] The substance of his narrative is as follows. Eusebius the Chamberlain, and Epictetus, an Arian Bishop, were present. The Emperor required Liberius to condemn Athanasius. "I cannot condemn him unheard." "He was condemned at the Synod of Tyre." "Yes, in his absence, without proof." "Why do you alone defend a miscreant, and disturb the peace of the Empire?" "Once on a time only three persons were found to disobey a king."

Here the Chamberlain interposed, "Sire, Liberius is comparing your Majesty to Nebuchadnezzar." "No. All that I ask is, that Athanasius may not be condemned without a trial, and that the Nicene Faith may first be subscribed by all his judges, and that then we may proceed to try him." "He has injured all men, and no man more than myself. He stirred up my brother Constans against me. I have long borne him with patience, but now I can bear him no

[3] Ammian. Marcellin. xv., "Auctoritate quoque qua *potioris* æternæ urbis Episcopi firmari." For "potio*ris*" I venture to read "potio*re*" (quâ potiore, i. e. as being pre-eminent), and to translate it so. It might, indeed, agree with "urbis."

[4] Theodoret, ii. 13. Concil. General. ii. 775.

Digitized by Google

longer; and I deem no victory so great—no, not the overthrow of the rebels Magnentius and Silvanus—as that of conquering Athanasius, and ejecting him from his see. Therefore yield, subscribe, and then return in peace to Rome." "The laws of the Church are dearer to me than Rome." "If you do not assent to his condemnation in three days, consider what other place you desire to be sent to." "Not three days, nor three months will change my mind. Send me where you please." Two days elapsed, and the Emperor sent for him again, but he was inflexible, and he was banished to Berœa in Thrace. The Emperor and Empress offered him money for his journey, which he declined; and in three days he was taken to Berœa, where he remained an exile for two years; and Felix was placed by the Emperor as Bishop of Rome in his stead.[5]

Constantius next attempted to win over Hosius, Bishop of Corduba.[6] He was the oldest Bishop in Christendom, having been a Bishop for sixty years, and was now more than a hundred years of age; he had been a confessor in heathen persecution; had taken a part in the Council of Eliberis in A.D. 305, of Arles, A.D. 314; had presided at Nicæa, A.D. 325, and at Sardica, A.D. 344. Constantius imagined that if he won over Hosius to his side, all would be gained. He sent for the aged Bishop, and spoke to him gently, and asked him to reject Athanasius, and to communicate with the Arians. Hosius indignantly declined to do so, and was dismissed. After he returned home, he received a menacing letter from the Emperor, to which he sent an answer as follows:[7]—"I confessed the faith when I was persecuted for it under your grand-

[5] Athan. ad Mon. § 75. [6] Ibid. § 42. [7] Ibid. § 44.

Digitized by Google

father Maximian; and if I am persecuted again, I am content to bear it, rather than shed innocent blood, and betray the truth. Listen not to Ursacius and Valens; what they desire is not to try Athanasius, but to propagate their own heresy. When I was at the Council of Sardica, to which you and your brother Constans convened us, I challenged Ursacius and Valens to bring proofs against Athanasius. They could not do it. Cease, I pray you, from persecution. Remember that you are a mortal man; fear the day of doom, and keep yourself harmless for that day. Meddle not with Church matters. Send not missives concerning them to us. Rather learn them from us. God has given you the Empire; Church matters are committed to us. As to the subject of your letter, hear my answer. I do not communicate with the Arians. I anathematize their heresy. I will not write against Athanasius, whom we and the Church of Rome, and the whole Synod, have pronounced innocent. Nay, you yourself have acquitted him, and have desired him to return with honour to his country and to his see. What is the cause of this change? Why, have you forgotten your own letters to him? He has the same enemies now as he had then; and if there had been any truth in their charges against him, those enemies would not have fled, when they were called upon by the Synod to prove them. Listen not to such men. Make not yourself an accomplice in their guilt. They wish you to be their servant, that by your means they may propagate their heresy in the Church. It is not the part of a wise man to incur manifest danger, in order to gratify the evil wishes of others. Cease, O Constantius, from doing so, and hearken to me, who

Digitized by Google

am saying what it is my duty to write, and what it is your duty not to despise."

Hosius received another summons from Constantius. He refused to comply with the Emperor's command to condemn Athanasius, and to communicate with his enemies; he was therefore sent into banishment to Sirmium, where he remained in exile a year.

Athanasius himself was next the object of attack, in the following year, A.D. 356.[8]

On the eve of Friday, the 9th of February, he was at a nocturnal vigil in the Church of Theonas, at Alexandria. Syrianus, duke of Egypt, came at night with an armed force of about five thousand men against the Church. Athanasius was sitting on his Episcopal throne; and when he was thus besieged, he gave orders to the deacon and people to sing the 136th Psalm, "O give thanks to the Lord, for He is gracious, and His mercy endureth for ever." The doors of the Church were burst open, swords flashed, arrows flew; many persons were wounded and slain; the virgins of the Church were seized and shamefully treated. The Bishop remained sitting in his throne, and exhorted the people to pray. They implored him to retire. He declined to do so till all who were able had left the Church. At length some of the Clergy and Monks drew him from his seat; and although the Church was guarded by the soldiery, he in a marvellous manner escaped unhurt through the crowd.

Other outrages were perpetrated by the troops of Syrianus, and sacrilegious abominations desecrated the Churches.[9] The Christians of Alexandria addressed

[8] Athan. Apol. ad Const. § 25; de Fugâ, § 24; ad Mon. § 81.
[9] Athan. ad Mon. §§ 55, 57, 59.

Digitized by Google

a remonstrance to Constantius.[1] The Emperor did not censure what was done, but sent officers to the city with orders to pursue Athanasius, and to bring him to trial and execution.

He had now withdrawn into the desert, where he spent six years in retirement and wanderings. He kept up a communication with his people by letters from time to time. "Our Churches," he wrote,[2] "have been taken from us, and given to the Arians; they have our places, and we have been banished from them. But we have the Faith; they cannot rob us of that. Which is the better of the two, the place or the faith? Who therefore has lost most, or gained most? he who has the place and lost the faith, or he who has lost the place and has the faith? Every place is good where the faith is. Wherever holy men dwell, the place is holy."

In the mean time, George, a Cappadocian, of low birth and vicious life, was sent as Bishop, A.D. 356, with a military force to take possession of the see of Athanasius.[3] The scenes of violence already described were renewed. The persecution extended beyond Alexandria. Ninety Bishops of Egypt were in communion with Athanasius; these were required to communicate with his enemies, on pain of being ejected from their sees. More than thirty of them were expelled; illiterate and immoral men were placed in their sees,[4] having received ordination from the Meletian schismatics.

At this time Athanasius addressed his Apology to the Emperor Constantius, in which he refutes the

[1] Athan. ad Mon. § 48, § 57.

[2] Frag. Epist., Montfaucon, p. lxv.

[3] Athan. ad Episc. Egypt. § 7; de Fugâ. Sozomen, iv. 10. Theodoret, ii. 11. Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 11.

[4] Athan. de Fugâ, § 7; ad Mon. §§ 27, 73, 78.

Digitized by Google

charges against himself. He had intended to go in person to the Emperor, and had set out on a journey for the purpose; but when he heard that George the Cappadocian had been placed in his see, and that the Emperor had set a price on his head,[5] he abandoned his intention, and retired into the desert.

It has been said by some that Athanasius had been biassed by prejudice against Constantius, under a sense of personal wrong; and that this prejudice appears in some of his writings. Let, however, any one compare what is said of Constantius by some contemporaries of Athanasius—such as Lucifer of Cagliari, and S. Hilary—and he will be surprised by the mildness with which Athanasius speaks to the Emperor in this Apology. In a later work (the "History of the Arians," which he addressed to the Monks of Egypt), when gentler appeals had failed, his language was more severe.

The enforced leisure of Athanasius was profitable to the Church. He wrote (in A.D. 358) his "Apology for his own Flight;" and he also composed his Letter on the death of Arius to Serapion the Bishop; and his four orations against the Arians—a treasure-house of theological argument on the Eternal Sonship of Christ; and his four Epistles to Serapion on the Divine Nature and Person of the Holy Ghost. S. Gregory Nazianzen, in his oration[6] on S. Athanasius, says that by this wise use of retirement he set to Bishops and Priests an example of uniting the sacredness of the Priesthood with the science of the Philosopher, and of combining active tranquillity with tranquil activity—a lesson needed in a restless age.

In A.D. 357, Constantius visited Rome and Milan,

[5] Theodoret, ii. 11.

[6] Orat. xxi. § 19.

Digitized by Google

whence he passed to Illyria, and halted at Sirmium. There the Arians framed another formula of faith, the second put forth by them there. It was drawn up by Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon, in conjunction with Valens, Ursacius, and Germinius. In this formula they expressly *rejected* the word *ousia* (substance) and *homoousion* (of the same substance) and *homoiousion* (of like substance) as applied to the Son of God in relation to the Father, and they declared that the Father only is God.[7] This is what is called the "Sirmiensis blasphemia," "doctrina impietatis," and "fides infidelis" by S. Hilary.[8]

Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon, the framer of this Creed, had been rejected as a heretic by Hosius, the aged Bishop of Corduba, who was now a prisoner at Sirmium. The venerable Bishop—"centenario major"—was required by the Emperor to subscribe this formula; he was beaten and tortured, and at last he yielded and subscribed it.[9] But he would not condemn Athanasius.[1] He was then allowed to return to Corduba, where he died soon afterwards, protesting his remorse for his act, and warning all to shun the Arian heresy.

The fall of Hosius was soon followed by another defection, still more deplorable, that of Liberius, Bishop of Rome. It is thus described by a Roman Catholic writer, the learned Benedictine Montfaucon.[2] "He had borne bravely his former persecution, but

[7] Socr. ii. 30. Athan. de Synod. § 28.

[8] Hilar. de Synod. pp. 464, 476, 498.

[9] Sulpic. Sever. ii. p. 417. Socr. ii. 31. Sozom. iv. 12. Athan. ad Mon. § 45, § 46. Hilar. pp. 461, 464, 513, 580, where it is called "Hosii deliramentum." Cp. Hooker, V. xlii. 3.

[1] Athan. ad Mon. § 45; ad Arian. § 90.

[2] Vit. Athan. p. lxxiii.

Digitized by Google

was now broken by the duration and weariness of his banishment at Berœa in Thrace, and by the threats of the Arians, and by his own sufferings and those of his friends, and was indignant at the prosperity of his rival Bishop at Rome, Felix. At this time Fortunatianus, Bishop of Aquileia, succeeded in swaying his mind toward communion with the Arians, and condemnation of Athanasius. Demophilus, Bishop of Berœa, proposed to him[3] the Sirmian faith, or rather the Sirmian impiety, to which he subscribed, promising that he would never more hold communion with Athanasius. He also wrote a letter to Constantius, in which he announced his readiness to obey his behests, and to condemn Athanasius, and prayed for leave to return to Rome. Constantius did not send an immediate reply, and Liberius, impatient of further delay, wrote to the Eastern Bishops, and to Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius, the leaders of Arianism, and humbly prayed to be admitted to communion with them; so much 'more did the love of his home and his see prevail with him than the sense of duty and honour. At the request of Ursacius, the Emperor allowed Liberius to return."

Athanasius in his retirement received the news of the fall of his two friends and former allies. He deplored the sufferings by which they had been brought so low, and in a loving spirit of tender sympathy he cast a veil over their failure in the hour of trial.[4]

He had many fellow-sufferers in that time of sorrow. Among the most remarkable was S. Hilary,

[3] What the precise form of words was that Liberius subscribed is not certain. Its character is sufficiently described by Hilary, and it satisfied Constantius and the enemies of Athanasius, who deplores it.

[4] Ad Mon. § 45; de Fugâ, § 4, § 5.

Digitized by Google

Bishop of Poictiers. He had been banished into Phrygia by Constantius; and he there made use of his seclusion to write his treatise on Synods, addressed to the Bishops of Gaul and Britain, with special reference to the Arian formularies of faith. He there denounced the Sirmian symbol of Potamius, and guarded the Churches of Gaul against the heresy it contained. That symbol was also refuted in a learned treatise, still extant, by Phœbadius, Bishop of Agen in Aquitania. Not long afterwards, S. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, author of the catechetical lectures still preserved, was deposed by Acacius, Bishop of Cæsarea, and driven from his see.[5]

One result, however, of these conquests of heresy, was that the victorious party now began to be split up into opposite factions. The shifting formulas of Arianism drifted downwards to lower and lower depths. The Macedonians were their natural offspring, and applied to the Holy Spirit similar language to that of the Arians with regard to the Son of God. They denied His divine Consubstantiality. The Apollinarians also affirmed that the divine Mind was in the place of a reasonable soul in the Person of Christ. Aetius the Sophist, ordained deacon by Leontius of Antioch, and a friend of George of Alexandria; and a follower of Aetius, Eudoxius Bishop of Antioch, afterwards of Constantinople; and Eunomius, his disciple, Bishop of Cyzicum (but afterwards disowned by him), represented the earlier form of Arianism, and condemned both the *homoousian* and *homoiousian* doctrine, and were called *Anomœans* or *Heterousians*, as affirming that the Son was *unlike* the Father, and different from Him in substance. They

[5] Socr. ii. 40.

Digitized by Google

held to the second formula of Sirmium framed by Potamius. But a large number of persons, shocked by such impiety, attempted to find a middle term between them and Athanasius. These were the Semi-Arians; their head was Basilius of Ancyra, who had been deposed at the Council of Sardica, and had great influence with Constantius; and they endeavoured to persuade him to banish Aetius, Eudoxius, and their associates. On the occasion of a dedication of a Church at Ancyra, they met in Council there in the spring of A.D. 358, in order to rescue the Church, as they said, from the shipwreck to which it was being hurried by the dangerous pilotage of Aetius. In this Council they condemned the Anomœans, and published a long exposition of faith, heretical only by defect. They issued a Synodical letter in that sense to the Bishops of Phœnicia and all others.[6]

Athanasius looked on them with a friendly eye. He thought that they were not far from the truth, and ought to be treated with sympathy;[7] and Hilary was of the same mind.[8]

For a time the Semi-Arians, with Basilius of Ancyra at their head, prevailed. Aetius was banished to Phrygia; Eunomius (who had been ordained deacon by Eudoxius) was exiled to the same country; Eudoxius retired to Armenia. About sixty-six more of the Anomœan party were also banished, and Constantius proceeded so far as to entertain the design of summoning a Council against the Anomœans, and

[6] Sozom. iv. 12, 13. Epiphan. Hær. 73. Concil. General. ii. 789.

[7] De Synod. § 32, § 41; ad Afros, § 9.

[8] S. Hilar. de Synod. p. 505. He says that their formula is capable of a "pia intelligentia," but may be misunderstood, and become *impia*. Cp. pp. 515. 521, 522, 574.

Digitized by Google

fixed on Nicomedia for the purpose. The execution of this design was, however, interrupted by an earthquake.

But the victory of the Semi-Arians was of short duration.

It was soon proved that there was no solid resting-place between Athanasius and Arius. Though the Semi-Arians seemed to triumph for a time, and had Constantius on their side, yet they were soon abandoned by him, and Athanasius found himself face to face with Arianism.

In the spring of A.D. 359, Constantius was at Sirmium in Eastern Illyria, with his Court, in which were many Bishops, attendant upon him, as usual. Both parties were represented, the Semi-Arians by Marcellus, the Arians by Valens, Ursacius, Mark of Arethusa, and George, the usurping Bishop of Alexandria. The latter party prevailed, and another Creed was drawn up, professedly by Mark of Arethusa, in which the word *substance* (one substance with the Father) was expressly rejected, as not found in Scripture, and as a cause of scandal. It was subscribed by the Arians, and even by Basil of Ancyra, but with a qualifying reserve, "that the Son was *like* the Father *in all things*." But the Arians added the clause, "as the Holy Scriptures affirm and teach;" in which general terms they took refuge, and wrapped up their heresy.[9] Prefixed to this formula was this preamble: "This Catholic Faith was put forth in the presence of our Lord the most religious Constantius Augustus, glorious for his victories, *eternal*, in the Consulship of the illustrious Flavius Eusebius and Flavius Hypatius, on the eleventh day before the calends of

[9] Athan. de Synod. § 3—§ 8. Sozom. iv. 17. Socr. ii. 37.

Digitized by Google

June" (i. e. May 22). It was thence called "the *dated* Creed;" and it was remarked that the Arians thus proclaimed the novelty of their faith, and gave to a human master, Constantius, the title which they denied to Christ, that of *Eternal*.[1]

Having succeeded in putting forth this Creed, the Arians next endeavoured to obtain its general reception. Being favoured by the imperial Chamberlain Eusebius, and being apprehensive that if all the Bishops met in one Council they would be overpowered by the union of Semi-Arians with Athanasius, they persuaded the Emperor to summon a Council to two different places, one in the East at Seleucia in Isauria,[2] the other in the West at Ariminum, or Rimini, on the Adriatic, a little to the south of Ravenna.

About 400 Bishops met at Ariminum, and at first everything seemed hopeful. The formula of Sirmium was rejected; the Creed of Nicæa, and that alone, was accepted. Ursacius, Valens, Germinius, Auxentius, and Demophilus were condemned as heretics. Twenty Episcopal envoys[3] were sent from the Council—not, however, men of mature age and experience—to Constantius, to inform him of what had been done by the Council, and to entreat his permission that the Bishops of the Council might return at once to their Dioceses.

The Emperor, who had left Illyria and was on his

[1] Athan. de Synod. §§ 3, 4, 8.

[2] The S.E. region of Asia Minor, S. of Cappadocia, and between Pamphylia on the West, and Cilicia on the East.

[3] For the history, see Sulpic. Sever. ii. 41, 54—56; Socr. ii. 37; Sozom. iv. 17; Theodoret, ii. 17; Concil. General. ii. 792; Athan. de Synod. § 1—§ 12; Hilar. de Synod. p. 463; ad Const. p. 566; Frag. pp. 689, 673, 701—705.

Digitized by Google

march to Persia, made no reply to the message, but said that he was too busy to attend to it. He was disappointed by the non-reception of the Sirmian Creed, which was inspired by himself. Inferring also from the incompetency of the youthful and inexperienced envoys, that the Bishops whom they represented were of little worth, he treated them with indifference.

The Arians had also sent emissaries to the Emperor, who were abler men, and were better received. The Emperor wrote to the Council that he was on his road to Persia, and would consider their message on his return to Adrianople. The Bishops who were detained at Rimini, renewed their request to be allowed to return home before winter, which was approaching.

In the mean time the Arians, who were at Nice in Thracia, invited the Catholic delegates of the Council to meet them there, and by subtle ingenuity and dint of importunity, prevailed on them to sign a formula similar to that of Sirmium, and to revoke the sentence of condemnation which had been pronounced by the Council against Valens, Ursacius, and their associates, who now came in triumph to Rimini.

The envoys, having thus fallen into the snare laid for them by the Arians, returned to Rimini. And now the Emperor appeared on the scene. By a rescript sent by the Præfect Taurus, he forbade the Bishops to quit Rimini till they had subscribed the formula which had been accepted by their envoys; and he gave orders that the leaders of the Catholic party should be banished if they declined to do so. Indignant remonstrances were uttered by the most zealous among them. But at length, alarmed by

Digitized by Google

threats, wearied out by delays, after seven months' stay, and with winter at hand, and eager to return home, they yielded one by one; and, being beguiled by the fallacious language of Valens and his friends, they subscribed a specious formula which affirmed that the Son was not a creature like other creatures; and so, in fine, what at first showed so fair was utterly blighted, and the Council of Rimini melted away.

The consternation thus caused is described by Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, and Augustine, whose words have been quoted already.[4]

The Council of the Easterns at Seleucia[5] was held in the month of September in the same year, A.D. 359. About 160 Bishops met, chiefly Semi-Arians. Leonas, the Imperial Treasurer, was present at its sessions in the Church of S. Thecla. Fortunately, however, S. Hilary, who had been three years an exile in Phrygia, was there. The Council declined the word *consubstantial*, because it was alleged to be obscure. But at the same time they condemned as heretical the word *anomœan* (unlike) as applied to the Son in His relation to the Father, and excommunicated the leading Arians, Acacius of Cæsarea, Eudoxius of Antioch, George of Alexandria, Leontius of Tripoli, and others.

But this Semi-Arian triumph, like others of the same kind, was destined to be of short duration.

The Arian deputies from Rimini, Ursacius, Valens, and others, united themselves to those who had been condemned by the Semi-Arians at Seleucia, and who declared themselves ready to accept the formula which

[4] See above, chap. i. pp. 19, 20. See also S. Ambrose, Epist. xxi. ad Valentin. § 15.

[5] For the history, see Athan. de Synod. § 12; Theodoret, ii. 22; Sozom. iv. 22; Socr. ii. 39; Concil. General. ii. 804.

Digitized by Google

the Council of Rimini, at the instigation of the Arians, had accepted; and thus the West was brought to bear upon the East in favour of Arianism. They held a Council at Constantinople.[6] Hilary was there present, and made an able appeal to the Emperor.[7] "I am a Bishop," he says, "in communion with all the Bishops of Gaul; and though in exile, I communicate with them still by means of Presbyters. I have been banished for no fault of mine, but by faction of others. However, I will say nothing of my own banishment, unless thou biddest me. But I plead for the Faith. I plead because I tremble for the World's peril, and for the sin of silence on my part, and for the judgment of God; and I am alarmed not for my own life and immortality, but for thine, and for that of all men. Recognize, I pray thee, the faith, which thou, O most excellent and most religious Emperor, desirest to hear from Bishops, and which thou dost not hear from them. For while they from whom thou askest it, write down their own words, and not the words of God, they have been whirled around on a restless wheel of error and endless strife. We are nowadays eager for new Creeds, because we have lost the old faith. The faith itself has become a thing of times and seasons, rather than of Scripture. Every year gives birth to a new Creed. There are as many faiths as wills, as many dogmas as tempers. Blasphemies sprout up with our vices; and whereas there is one Faith, one Lord, one Baptism, we have quitted that faith which is one, and one only; and by multiplying our faiths, we have ceased to have any. Since we have drifted away from Nicæa, we have done nothing else

[6] Sozom. iv. 23. Theodoret, ii. 23—26. Concil. General. ii. 805.
[7] Hilar. ad Constantium Augustum, ii. p. 543.

Digitized by Google

but fabricate new Creeds; and while one man anathematizes another, we all cease to be Christ's. Let us then return to the old Faith, and after our long and tempestuous voyage let us find a harbour there."

Hilary asked for an audience, but the Arians declined the challenge, and persuaded the Emperor to send him back to Gaul as a turbulent man who sowed strife in the East.

Eventually the Arians at Constantinople adopted the Creed of Rimini, and constrained the Semi-Arians to subscribe it; not without a protest on the part of some. Among them they sacrificed Aetius as a scape-goat; they deposed him as refractory, but did not call him a heretic.

They deposed Marcellus of Ancyra, the head of the Semi-Arians, and Eustathius of Sebaste, not on the charge of heresy, but for admitting an unchaste deacon to communion; and Macedonius of Constantinople,[8] and placed one of their own leaders, Eudoxius, in his room, on January 27, A.D. 360, who, soon after his enthronement there, uttered words of impiety against the Father and the Son at the dedication of the Church of S. Sophia, February the 15th. Finally they ordered that the decrees of the Council of Rimini should be diffused everywhere, and their order was accompanied by a proclamation from the Emperor that whoever refused to accept it should be banished.

Thus Arianism appeared to have triumphed in Christendom. Even the city where the "disciples were first called Christians,"[9] Antioch, became the scene of its victory. At the end of A.D. 360, Constantius was there. Eudoxius, its Arian Bishop, had just been translated to Constantinople. Meletius, who

[8] Socr. ii. 42, 43. Sozom. iv. 24.

[9] Acts xi. 26.

Digitized by Google

had been elected Bishop of Sebaste, but had retired from it, was respected by both parties, and was chosen to succeed Eudoxius at Antioch. But having been desired by the Emperor to preach to the people on the text Proverbs viii. 22—a stronghold of the Arians [1]—he offended them by his Catholic [2] exposition [3] of those words, which had been interpreted in an Arian sense in a previous sermon by George of Laodicea, and in a neutral one by Acacius of Cæsarea. They therefore persuaded the Emperor to quash the election, and to send him to Armenia, his own country. Euzoius, one of the first disciples of Arius, and an eager partisan of his doctrines, was placed in his room; and under him a Council was held at Antioch, which published a still more heretical Creed even than that of Rimini, and declared in that, that the Son was in all respects unlike the Father.[4] Thus they identified themselves with the *Anomœans* and *Exoucontians*, as they were called, that is, with those who affirmed that the Son was not begotten of the Father, nor even created by Him out of Himself, but *out of things that did not* before *exist* (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων),[5] and was not therefore a Son at all.

But now, when their triumph seemed to be complete, their defeat was at hand.

Julian, an apostate from the faith, was chosen by God to avenge it. The Imperial Patron of the Arians, Constantius, heard with alarm at Cæsarea, when

[1] Κύριος ἔκτισέ με. As to the Arian use of that text, may I refer to the note on it in my Commentary on the Book of Proverbs?

[2] Which he illustrated by first holding out three of his fingers, and then withdrawing two, and leaving one.

[3] Preserved by Epiphanius, Hær. 73.

[4] Athan. de Synod. § 31.

[5] See above, vol. i. p. 446.

Digitized by Google

entering on his campaign against Persia, that Julian, his cousin, whom he had appointed Cæsar in the West, had been saluted Augustus by his soldiers at Paris, and was marching against him. At Vienne in Gaul, on the feast of Epiphany, January 6, A.D. 361, Julian, now a pagan at heart, worshipped in a Christian Church; but he passed on eastward to Sirmium —the scene of Arian Councils—whence the Creed of Rimini had sprung, and there publicly renounced Christianity.[6]

Constantius, having proceeded to Edessa in his campaign against Sapor, King of Persia, and having learnt that the Persians had retreated, marched back rapidly toward Antioch.

At Tarsus he was seized by a slight attack of fever, which he hoped would soon pass away; but he was obliged to halt at Mopsucrené in Cilicia, where, perceiving himself to be near his end,[7] he received baptism from Euzoius, the Arian Bishop of Antioch. He died on the 4th of November, A.D. 361, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

It is stated by Gregory Nazianzen,[8] who is more favourable to him than any other of the Christian Fathers,[9] that he showed great and special remorse for three things: that he had slain so many of his kindred; that he had advanced Julian to the Empire; and that he had tampered with the Faith.

His reign was tarnished by many and great crimes,

[6] Julian, Epist. 38 ad Maximum philosophum.

[7] Athan. de Synod. § 31.

[8] Orat. xxi. § 26: *τὸν τοῦ γένους φόνον, καὶ τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν τοῦ Ἀποστάτου, καὶ τὴν καινοτομίαν τῆς πίστεως.* Cp. Theodoret, iii. 1.

[9] See his Orat. iv. §§ 3, 21, 37, and the Benedictine Editor's preface to it, p. 76.

Digitized by Google

which were due to his counsellors, such as Eusebius his Chamberlain, and the Bishops of his court, rather than to himself. He was capricious and vacillating, and on account of the rapidly succeeding ebb and flow of his fickle and inconstant purposes, he was called an "Euripus."[1] But he was also very wayward and peremptory, and dictated the edicts of his will as if they were canons of the Church.[2]

But his reign was overruled for good to the Church, by teaching her not to put her trust in Princes, and by exercising and manifesting the power of God's grace, in the faith, patience, and courage of noble Confessors, especially Athanasius, whose Episcopate in the reign of Constantius was a continual martyrdom; and also as showing that there is no solid foundation for Christianity, except in the maintenance of that doctrine for which Athanasius contended, that the Son of God is "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father."

In reviewing the history from the death of Constantine (A.D. 337) to that of Constantius (A.D. 361), we should remember that many legislative enactments were made for the suppression of heathenism in A.D. 341,[3] and especially A.D. 353[4] for the abolition of sacrifices—even on the pain of death—and for the closing of heathen temples. And although these enactments could not be everywhere put in force, especially in such Cities as Rome and Alexandria, yet they had the salutary effect of diminishing the

[1] Theodoret, ii. 27.

[2] ὥσπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανὼν νομιζέσθω, Athan. ad Mon. § 33. Cp. Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 215.

[3] Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 10, 1 and 3.

[4] Ibid. xvi. 10, 4.

Digitized by Google

influence of Heathenism, and of opening the eyes of the people to the frauds practised in its temples by those who officiated in them. The term *pagan*, which arose about this time, marked the retirement of Heathenism from towns into villages, *pagi*.[5]

Many laws were made by Constantine and Constantius, which exempted Bishops and Clergy from military service and from sundry taxes,[6] and provided endowments for them.[7]

Reference has been already made to the spread of Christianity in Ethiopia,[8] and also among the Goths. The Gospel had been propagated in Armenia by Gregory "the Illuminator," consecrated Metropolitan of Armenia in A.D. 302.[9] And the presence of Bishops of Gaul at the Council of Rome, A.D. 313, and of British Bishops at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, and the influence exercised by Hosius, Bishop of Corduba in Spain, during the reigns of Constantine and Constantius, attested the spread of the Gospel in the West.

The seemingly casual manner in which the Seed of the Gospel is ever being scattered in the field of the World, "and springs up and grows," no man knows how,[1] was exemplified also about this time in Iberia—the modern Georgia—on the shores of the

[5] The first legal use of the term "paganus" in an imperial edict was in A.D. 368. Cod. Theod. xvi. 2, 1. Cp. Gibbon, ch. xxi. at end; Abp. Trench on Words, p. 130; Gieseler, i. 308; Neander, iii. 93.

[6] These immunities were in some respects hurtful, as tempting unworthy persons into Holy Orders. Athan. Hist. Arian. ad Mon. § 78. Basil, Epist. 54. De Broglie, iii. 129.

[7] Euseb. de Vit. Const. iv. 28. Sozom. i. Theodoret, iv. 4.

[8] Above, p. 43.

[9] Sozom. ii. 8.

[1] Mark iv. 26, 27, which is well illustrated by Professor Blunt in his Church History, ch. v. p. 92.

Digitized by Google

Black Sea. A Christian woman was carried captive to that country,[2] whose holy life attracted attention, and led to inquiry concerning her faith. "I serve Christ, my God," was the answer. A mother brought to her a sick child. "I cannot heal it; but there is One who can," said the captive: she prayed to Christ, and the child was restored to health. The Queen of Iberia was suffering from a painful disease, and desired her to come and cure her. She declined to go, lest she should seem to think too highly of her own powers. The Queen came to her; the captive prayed earnestly, and the Queen was healed. The King sent presents to the captive, but the Queen told him that the woman desired no other reward than his conversion to Christianity. He delayed for a time; but one day, being in danger and distress, he bethought himself of the request, and prayed to Christ, and was delivered from his peril. He therefore sent for the captive woman, and told her that he would serve no other God but hers; and he asked her how her God was to be served. She did what she could to inform him, and asked him to build a Church. The King and Queen complied with the request, and sent an embassy to Constantine, that a Bishop and Clergy might come to them. The Church in Persia was ennobled by 16,000 martyrs (A.D. 343. Sozom. ii. 14), and the Arabian Homerites joyfully received the Gospel (Philost. iii. 4).

In reading, therefore, the narrative of the unhappy strifes in the Church during this period, we may derive comfort from the reflection that the Gospel was all the while making quiet and steady progress in almost all parts of the Empire, and that the prophecies contained in the divine parables concerning the

[2] Rufin. i. 10. Socr. i. 20.

Digitized by Google

grain of mustard seed, and the leaven,[3] were in course of fulfilment at that time. Some interesting remarks on these points were made by S. Cyril, priest and afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, in his catechetical lectures on the Creed, delivered to candidates for baptism in the season of Lent, in one of the Churches of that city, in A.D. 347 or 348. "The very fact of your presence proves the power of the Crucified. What," he says[4] (preaching on the article of the Creed "He was crucified"), "has brought you hither? What soldiers have forced you to come? By what chains have you been drawn? By what judicial sentence have you been driven? By none of these things. No; it is the salutary trophy of the Cross that has done it. The Cross has vanquished the Persians, and tamed the Scythians, and has given to the Egyptians the knowledge and worship of the true God, instead of cats and dogs, and has freed them from their manifold errors. The Cross, even to this day, heals diseases, and casts out devils, and overthrows the impostures of sorcerers and enchanters."

Cyril tells his hearers also that the intestine conflicts of the Church during the reign of Constantius were the appointed trials of their faith and charity, and in this respect might be made profitable by them. "If you hear (says he to his Catechumens[5] about A.D. 347) that Bishops are striving against Bishops, and Clergy against Clergy, and Laity against Laity, even unto blood, be not disturbed thereby; for these things were foretold by Christ. Mind not what now happens, but attend to what is written in Scrip-

[3] Matt. xiii. 31, 33.

[4] S. Cyril Hierosol. Cateches. xiii. 40, p. 202, ed. Venet. 1763.

[5] Ibid. xv. 7, p. 227.

Digitized by Google

ture. If I, who am your Teacher, perish, do not you therefore perish with me. The disciple may be above his master; the last may be first. If there was a traitor among the Apostles, why should we wonder that there is strife among Bishops now? Here is a sign of the latter days. 'Iniquity will abound, and charity wax cold.'[6] But there is another sign also. 'This Gospel of the Kingdom will first be preached in all the world, and then will the end come.'[7] This is being fulfilled also."

"The Teacher's error is the People's trial." This saying (as has been already noticed[8]) is verified in every age of the Church's History, and was never more clearly exemplified than in the days of Constantius. But the People bore the trial nobly. Their faith was made more illustrious by the defection of many of the Episcopate.[9] In the words of S. Hilary, "The hearts of the People were holier than the lips of the Priests." The trial led to a triumph.

At the same time it must be remembered that the steadfastness of the People was mainly due, under God, to the example and teaching of the greatest Bishop of Christendom, Athanasius.

The body of Constantius was carried, under the conduct of Jovian, the future Emperor, to Constantinople, where Julian, the successor of Constantius, and predecessor of Jovian, arrived on the 11th day of December in the year 361.

[6] Matt. xxiv. 12. [7] Matt. xxiv. 14. [8] Vol. i. p. 317.

[9] One of the most interesting and instructive portions of Cardinal Newman's work on the Arians, pp. 445—468, ed. 1876, is occupied with a full demonstration of this truth from the history of those times.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V.

From the Accession of Julian, Nov. 4, A.D. 361, *to his death, June* 26, A.D. 363.

THE accession of Julian to the throne of the Roman World, was marked by extraordinary events. In the general massacre of his nearest relatives at the death of Constantine, A.D. 337, Julian and his elder brother Gallus had alone escaped. Gallus was spared, because it was thought that he could not long survive; Julian was allowed to live, on account of his tender age; and no one then dreamt that he could ever be a candidate for the imperial crown. It is said that he owed his life to Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, who gave him shelter in his Church.[1]

The family of Constantine seemed destined in all human probability to form a dynasty for many generations. He left three sons in the flower of their age, and in vigorous health. But this bright promise of a lineal succession was not realized. Constantine, the eldest son, who invaded the dominions of his brother Constans, was killed in a skirmish in A.D. 340. Constans, who thus became Emperor of the West, died early in A.D. 350, in the rebellion of Magnentius. Neither of the two brothers left any issue. At the death of Constans, Constantius became sole Emperor

[1] Cp. Greg. Nazian. Orat. iv. 91, who refers to the fact that Mark was afterwards a martyr for the faith under Julian.

Digitized by Google

of the Roman World. He was three times married, but also died childless. It would seem as if a blight fell on the family of Constantine, who had not spared his own wife Fausta, and his own son Crispus; and whose example was imitated by his children, especially Constantius, who cleared the way to an undisputed succession to the throne, by the murder of their own kindred. Nor was this all. Julian's elder brother, Gallus, who had been appointed Cæsar by Constantius, was killed by the order of the Emperor, his cousin, in the year A.D. 354. Julian alone remained.

Julian is entitled to compassion on account of the unloveliness and unlovingness of his early associations. He had been treated with coldness and harshness by his cousin Constantius, who had been accessory to the murder of many of his nearest relatives. He had been kept by him almost a prisoner in obscure seclusion and banishment, and under jealous espionage; he had received little sympathy from any of the imperial Court, except Eusebia, one of the consorts of Constantius;[2] and he was placed under the hard, cold, and semi-sceptical tuition of Arianism. How different might have been his career, if, instead of being committed to the charge of the ambitious and unscrupulous worldly politician, Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, he had been entrusted to the care of Athanasius.

Being chilled and soured by early neglect and ill-usage, and exasperated by a sense of wrong, and left almost alone without friends and relatives (except his brother, who was of a very different temperament), and with no opportunity for the genial exercise of

[2] Who, however, is said to have dealt in a most unfeeling manner with Helena, her sister-in-law, Julian's wife: see note in p. 147.

Digitized by Google

kindly affections, he had been tempted to practise insincerity and dissimulation, by the envious surveillance exercised over him; and being disgusted with the wrangling of angry polemical disputants among Christian Bishops, he was exposed to the flattery of heathen sophists and rhetoricians, who agreed in regarding him with hope as their future patron and champion, and as the destined restorer of pagan Literature and Religion.

On the death of Gallus, Julian had been appointed Cæsar. He was protected and patronized by Eusebia, the wife of Constantius, and was nominated to his new dignity by Constantius at Milan, on Nov. 6, A.D. 355, who gave him his sister Helena in marriage.[3] But in A.D. 360 he was saluted Augustus by his soldiers, and having received a menacing letter from the Emperor, he was urged by them to march toward the East to encounter Constantius, who had acted on the instigation of his own soldiery, when he killed Julian's father, Julius Constantius, the brother of Constantine, to make way for himself to the throne.

When Julian was in Dacia, in the winter of A.D. 361, he received the intelligence that Constantius was dead, and found himself undisputed Master of the Roman World. His cousins, the three sons of Constantine, had been only imperial triumvirs at their father's death; but Julian, the despised orphan, was raised suddenly to no such divided dominion, but was sole Augustus at once without any rival of his power.

[3] Helena died childless a little before the death of her brother Constantius and the accession of her husband and cousin Julian, who never married again. It is said (by Ammian. Marcellin. xvi. 10) that the Empress "Eusebia, ipsa sterilis, venenum bibere per fraudem illexit (Helenam) ut quotiescunque concepisset, immaturum abjiceret partum."

Digitized by Google

The reign of Julian, though short in duration—not much more than one year and a half—is one which in its relation to the Christian Church is perhaps of deeper interest, in some respects, than that of any other Roman Emperor.[4] It would seem that, unconsciously, he was made an instrument in the hands of her Divine Head for the most important ends. And even the shortness of his reign brings out this its character with greater clearness and intensity.

Soon after his accession to the throne, he established a Correctional Tribunal for inquiry into the mal-administration of those who had held the highest places under his predecessor. One of the first who was brought to trial, and was capitally condemned, was Eusebius, the celebrated Chief of the Eunuchs, and Chamberlain of Constantius, who had been raised from low estate to the highest dignity, and had been the prime mover in all the designs in favour of Arianism,[5] and against the Church, in his reign.

Taurus, who had gained the Consulship by acts of violence, especially at the heretical Council of Rimini, and had enforced heresy on the Church, was another victim of the same retribution, made more bitter to him by the legal formula of his impeachment, entitled "In the Consulship of Taurus, Taurus is arraigned."[6]

Another person, who was celebrated as the framer of the notorious "dated Creed" of Sirmium, May 22, A.D. 359, Marcus[7] of Arethusa, was executed also

[4] On the reign and character of Julian, let me refer to the excellent article on Julian, written for Professor Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography by Canon Wordsworth, which I have had the advantage of seeing before its publication.

[5] Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 3. Socr. iii. 1.

[6] Ibid.

[7] See above, pp. 132, 133.

Digitized by Google

under Julian, but by a nobler death;[8] he fell by the hands of a heathen populace encouraged by Julian's patronage of paganism. Another leader of heresy, George of Cappadocia, who had usurped the see of Athanasius in A.D. 356, and had perpetrated savage cruelties and sacrilegious outrages on the Catholics of Alexandria, and in the Churches there, suffered barbarous enormities in his own person in that city from a heathen mob[9] under Julian in A.D. 362. It is noteworthy that both the intruders into the see of Athanasius, Gregory and George, died at Alexandria after a short Episcopate, while the life of Athanasius, the Catholic Bishop, though in continual peril, was preserved for nearly fifty years.

But the reign of Julian was still more remarkable in another view. It was the latest reign in which Heathenism was brought into direct antagonism to Christianity; and that antagonism was in some respects more dangerous to it than under any other Roman Emperor.

The time itself was unfavourable to the Church. She had been torn asunder by Arianism, and that intestine warfare had been waged for a quarter of a century. Synods had striven against Synods; Bishops had anathematized Bishops. Many faithful Bishops were in exile, and their sees occupied by usurpers. And after the Council of Rimini, a short time before the accession of Julian, Christendom was almost in despondency, produced by general disruption.

The bitter animosities, malignant calumnies, and

[8] Theodoret, iii. 3. Sozom. v. 10. On his martyrdom, see Tillemont, vii. 367, 726.

[9] Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 11. Epiphan. Hæres. 76. Sozom. v. 7.

Digitized by Google

barbarous cruelties of Christians fighting against Christians, had prejudiced[1] Julian against Christianity, and exposed it to his attacks. Julian himself also, who led the campaign against Christianity, was singularly qualified for a successful warfare against it. He wielded the power of the Roman Empire. He had made personal trial of Christianity, and had renounced it. He had been trained under a Christian Bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia; he had not only been baptized early in life—which was not the case with his Christian predecessors—he had officiated, as a Reader, in the ministry of the Church; he openly professed Christianity till he was twenty years of age, and then, in the ripeness of manhood, and in the exercise of a deliberate judgment, he publicly renounced it. It could not be said that he was tempted to abandon it by motives of earthly policy. The Roman Empire was on the side of Christianity. It had seen five Christian Rulers—his uncle Constantine, his three cousins, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, and his brother Gallus. The Christian Labarum had for nearly half a century displaced the Roman Eagle from the standard of the Legions. The Capital of the Empire, Constantinople, dedicated in A.D. 330, was a Christian city; no Heathen Temple was to be seen in it.

In these respects the hostility of Julian to Christianity was of a very different character from that of any of his pagan predecessors who persecuted the Church, such as Decius or Diocletian. It was far more formidable. It appeared to be the result of candid and impartial examination into the claims of

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 5, says of Julian, "Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus."

Digitized by Google

the two rival religions; it could not be alleged that Julian was unfitted by intellectual disqualifications to examine their rival pretensions and to pronounce a fair verdict upon them, or to be swayed by sensual passions to prefer Heathenism to Christianity. Julian was richly gifted with mental endowments, which had been improved by a liberal education. He had studied in the schools of Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Athens; and was a pupil of the famous rhetorician Libanius, whose lectures he eagerly read, when prevented from personal attendance at them; and was a friend of the celebrated Themistius. He had been a fellow-pupil at Athens with some of the most distinguished Christian writers of the age, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen; and was familiar with the best Greek and Roman Authors, especially their Poets and Philosophers. Under the training of the celebrated Platonist Nicocles, he had learnt to see in Homer allegorical shadowings of the noblest truths and of the deepest mysteries of Ethics and Religion.[2] He was deeply imbued with the lore of the newer Platonic school by Ædesius, Chrysanthius, and especially by Maximus. His own writings, composed in the Greek language, challenged comparison, in matter and style, with the most popular specimens of contemporary heathen Literature.[3] He employed his intellectual powers in an endeavour to disprove Christianity, in an elaborate work[4] of three books, and to show that he had rejected it on good grounds. He

[2] Libanius ad Julian. i. p. 459. More will be said on this work below.

[3] His work against Christianity was preferred by Libanius to that of Porphyry. Socr. iii. 23.

[4] This work of Julian was regarded as of so much importance by the Christian Church, that some time after its author's death S. Cyril of Alexandria undertook to refute it.

Digitized by Google

availed himself of the previous infidel writings of Celsus, Hierocles, and Porphyry,[5] and he had more knowledge of the Gospels, which he attempted to refute, from his own previous position as a Reader of them in the public ministry of the Church.

In the exercise of some moral virtues, Julian was also far superior to most of his predecessors. It is evident, from the dramatic portrait gallery [6]—in which he imitates the style of Lucian and makes his predecessors the Cæsars to pass in review before Jupiter at the feast of Saturnalia—that the Stoic Philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, whose motto in that book is "Imitate the gods," was his favourite and model,[7] not merely among the Emperors, but among all the heroes of ancient history; and was superior, in his estimation, to Alexander, Cæsar, and above all to his own uncle Constantine, who is the special object of his aversion and sarcasm. Julian was free from parsimony and avarice, liberal in giving, diligent and industrious in the transaction of state affairs, a brave soldier, and successful in all but his last and fatal campaign in Persia, where he exposed himself recklessly [8] in the field. He was dreaded by Gauls and Germans, whom he conquered when Cæsar in the West and Viceroy of Constantius, and was admired and beloved by his Army. The historian Ammianus Marcellinus,[9] who served under him, bears testimony to his military prowess and martial virtues, and to

[5] See above, vol. i. pp. 114, 366—370, 373.

[6] Entitled "The Cæsars," which Gibbon (ch. xxiv. p. 130) calls "one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit."

[7] Ammian. Marcellin. xvi. 1.

[8] Oblitus loricæ," says Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 3.

[9] Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 4, "Vir profectò heroicis commemorandus ingeniis," &c.

Digitized by Google

his fortitude, temperance, sobriety, and chastity. He shunned the licentious and barbarous spectacles of the Theatre and the Arena; he was sparing in his diet and sleep, of which he abridged himself for study; patient alike of heat and cold, a pattern to his troops in marches and in the field, an example of stoical sternness and austerity; a Diogenes, with the long beard of a cynic, clothed in the sagum of a military commander. He differed also from many of his heathen predecessors in another important respect. Nero, Domitian, Decius, Valerian, Diocletian, persecuted the Church not because they loved heathenism, but because they hated Christianity. But Julian was passionately enamoured of Paganism; he was a zealous enthusiast, a devoted [1] admirer of it. In his early life at Athens, the flourishing school of heathen Literature, the pagan priests, hierophants, rhetoricians, and sophists had combined to stimulate his zeal for Heathenism; Pagan young men were his associates there, who joined together in inspiring him with the belief that he was born to restore it to its ancient glory. He openly preferred his title of "Pontifex Maximus" to that of Augustus.[2] He was not content with the public ritual of the heathen temples which he restored; he had a temple in his own garden, and a chapel in his palace, in which he was constant at his devotions morning and evening. He identified himself with Paganism by officiating as a priest at its sacrifices, splitting the wood, kindling the fire of the altar, and fanning the flame with his breath, and slaying the victims with his own hands.[3]

[1] "Superstitiosus magis quàm sacrorum legitimus observator," says Ammianus, ibid.

[2] Liban. Orat. viii. p. 245, de Juliani nece.

[3] "Innumeras sine parsimoniâ pecudes mactans," says Marcellinus

Digitized by Google

He regarded Heathenism with mysterious awe, and chanted its praises with enthusiastic rhapsodies in rapturous ecstasies, caught from the hymns of pagan mystics of the new Platonic School, Plotinus and Iamblichus, and from the venerable traditions of heathen poets, Homer, Orpheus, and Pindar, and the Greek Dramatists, and from initiation in sacred mysteries, and from nocturnal communings with the unseen world, and from diving into the deepest recesses of magic, with all the fervour of a modern spiritualist; and from astrology, necromancy, and sorcery, in company with his friend Maximus;[4] and from the terrible orgies of the Taurobolia,[5] reeking with bulls' blood, with which, being poured over his head, he drenched and washed away from his brow the last traces of Christian Baptism.

The portrait drawn by Gregory Nazianzen[6] of Julian's personal appearance and demeanour when at Athens, seems to intimate a physical temperament specially susceptible of impressions from such phenomena as would act upon him in Eleusinian and other mysteries, or in heathen oracles and magical arts. The ill-set neck, the convulsive movements of the shoulders, eyes, and feet, the wild stare, the noddings of the head and twitchings of the features and sarcastic nose, the sudden bursts of immoderate laughter and rapid succession of abrupt irrelevant questions, may perhaps

(xxv. 4), "ut æstimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos."

[4] Eunap. Vit. Sophist. Maximi, p. 494.

[5] Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 52—56. By this initiatory ceremony of a bath of blood, the votaries of Mithras and Cybele sought to gain for themselves admission to the joys of immortality.

[6] Greg. Naz. Orat. v. 23, p. 161. Cp. Socr. iii. 23.

Digitized by Google

have been symptoms of epileptic tendencies, which would lend themselves easily to the influences of necromantic sorceries and spiritualistic illusions.

It cannot be doubted that Julian was as much in earnest in favour of Heathenism as Constantine had ever been for Christianity. He was, as has been said, prejudiced against Christianity by the sins of Christians, especially of Christian Bishops, and by the cruelty of Christian Emperors, Constantine and Constantius to his own family and theirs. He felt a strong persuasion that he was raised up by the gods, whom he devoutly worshipped, to vindicate their outraged dignity, and to reopen their temples, and restore their altars and sacrifices, and to bring back the national creed and ancestral religion which in his view had made Rome the mistress of the world ; and that he had been providentially preserved by heaven from the murderous hands of the sons of Constantine, and had been exalted by the miraculous intervention of the gods to the highest pinnacle of earthly glory and imperial power, for the special purpose of extirpating a novel and upstart creed, the degrading Galilæan superstition (for such, in his eyes, Christianity was), and for restoring the ancient faith and worship, which were identified in his mind with whatever was most profound in Philosophy, most beautiful in Poetry and Art, most noble in martial enterprise, most wise in State policy, most magnanimous in Patriotism, most profitable to human Society, and most pleasing to the heavenly Makers and Rulers of the World.

Nor was this all. We need not hesitate to say that Julian was helped by the supernatural agency of spiritual Powers in this bold enterprise. If we

Digitized by Google

believe that Christianity is the kingdom of light, and that Heathenism is the realm of darkness; if we give credence to our Lord's promise that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against His Church[7] (which implies that they will attempt to do so); if we accept St. Paul's saying that what the heathen offered at their altars, they sacrificed to devils and not to God,[8] we must suppose that the Powers of Darkness would be stirred by new hopes at Julian's accession, and would be ready to ally themselves with the Emperor of the world in prosecuting his magnificent work—that of their own restoration and aggrandizement. The opportunity also was favourable, above all hope. The prospect of victory was cheering beyond all precedent.

They were, in fact, permitted by God to show their readiness to co-operate with Julian. The story related by Eunapius[9] the Sophist in his life of Maximus of Ephesus, who united the character of a Platonic Philosopher with that of a Professor of Magic, and the narrative of his theurgic practices in the temple of Hecate, and of the influence which he exercised upon Julian, lead us to believe that he was no unwilling partaker in such mysterious ceremonies. When Julian was engaged in one of his oracular consultations, in the dark inner shrine of a heathen temple, and when all the mysterious ritual had been duly performed by the hierophant to conjure up the spirits of the place, Julian was alarmed by the strange sounds which he heard, and by spectral forms and frightful apparitions which he saw; and with an involuntary act of dread, he shuddered and shrank

[7] Matt. xvi. 18. [8] 1 Cor. x. 20.

[9] Vita Maximi, pp. 48—51.

Digitized by Google

backward, and made the sign of the cross, at which they vanished; and when he asked the reason of this, the reply of the thaumaturge was, "Do not imagine that they were scared away by the cross; no, they fled in impious execration at such a profane act as thine."[1]

It is reported on good authority, that when, in July, 362, he had opened the prophetic spring at Daphné, in the suburb of the Syrian Antioch, and had questioned Apollo, the deity of the famous temple, why he had been long silent, and why his worship had been neglected, the answer was, that he had been hindered by the presence of corpses brought into the sacred precincts. Julian inferred that Apollo complained of the proximity of the body of the Martyr S. Babylas, Bishop of Antioch in the time of Decius, which had been brought there by Julian's own brother Gallus, eleven years before. He therefore commanded the Christians to clear away the Martyr's remains, which they did with joy and hymns of praise. Soon afterwards the temple itself was consumed by fire.[2]

Julian had been encouraged by auguries and oracles, when he was in Gaul, to believe that he was called to the Empire; and at a time when Constantius was in good health, he had learnt from divination (says the heathen historian[3]) and from dreams, that the Emperor's end was near. This presage was soon fulfilled, and it confirmed his belief in spiritual revela-

[1] Theodoret, iii. 1. Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 55.

[2] Sozom. v. 19, 20. Theodoret, iii. 6. Chrysostom in S. Babyl. Socr. iii. 18. Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 13. Julian, Misopog. p. 361.

[3] Ammian. Marcellin. xxi. 1, "Conjiciens Constantium per vaticinandi præsagia multa (quæ callebat) et somnia e vitâ protinus excessurum."

Digitized by Google

tions, and made him more ready to be led by them.

He was permitted to hold communion with the Powers of evil, which were allowed to work together with him, and to concentrate their energies with intense violence and consummate virulence in this their death-struggle with Christianity. This was subservient to wise purposes, that, by the overthrow of the Enemy of the Church, when he seemed most likely to triumph over it, the glory of God might be advanced, and the hearts of the faithful be comforted by the confirmation of the truth of Christianity, when most in peril of being crushed.[4]

The manner also in which Julian proceeded favours this opinion. He combined in a marvellous way the two characteristics of the Evil One—the subtilty of the serpent with the ruthlessness of the lion.

At first, like Antiochus Epiphanes, he attempted to "enter peaceably,"[5] and to corrupt by flatteries. He encouraged all who would imitate him by renouncing Christianity for paganism, especially his soldiers[6] and courtiers. He did not wish to ennoble

[4] Bishop Warburton (who was no enthusiast) does not scruple to say (in his "Julian," chap. ii.) that "this extraordinary man was raised up to do the last honours to the religion of Jesus; to show to the world what human power, with all its advantages united, was able to oppose to its establishment; for we find in this Emperor all the great qualities that an adversary could require to secure success to so daring an opposition."

[5] Dan. xi. 22, 32. An interesting and instructive parallel might be traced between Julian and Antiochus Epiphanes (whom all the Christian Fathers regarded as a type of Antichrist), which would well repay the pains of a Christian Plutarch. Both warred against God in His temple at Jerusalem; both exposed themselves publicly in strange buffoonery at Antioch; both suddenly found death in a military expedition to Persia, where they had looked for victory. As to Antiochus, may I be permitted to refer to the notes in my commentary on Daniel viii. 9, 25; 1 Macc. vi. 8—13; 2 Macc. ix. 2—18?

[6] Julian, Epist. 38. Theodoret, iii. 2.

Digitized by Google

Christianity by Martyrdoms. He professed to encourage liberty of conscience and universal Toleration. The Bishops who had been exiled by his predecessor Constantius were allowed to return to their homes. He seemed a patron of Christianity. But in this there was an artful design. He desired either to promote religious indifference among Christians by encouraging all sects alike, or (as the heathen historian expresses it[7]) by bringing rival sectaries into violent collision with one another, to expose them to the derision of the heathen, and to give a triumph to Paganism, and to rend asunder the Church by schism.

In this policy of Toleration also he took care[8] to give a preference to schismatics and heretics. He showed a particular favour to the Novatians and Donatists of Africa,[9] and wrote a flattering letter to the Arian Bishop Aetius,[1] and congratulated the Bishop Photinus on his superior liberality and enlightenment in denying the divinity of Christ.

Having done this, he then unmasked his intentions by other less tolerant acts. He issued two Edicts, in one of which[2] he asserts it to be monstrous that persons who instruct others in the writings of heathen authors, should dishonour the gods of heathenism. "I do not wish men to change their religion; but I allow them free choice, either not to teach, or to teach no impiety concerning the gods. If teachers think those authors

[7] Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 5.

[8] Socr. iii. 11.

[9] Optat. lib. ii. Aug. Epist. 105. Cod. Theodos. xvi. tit. v.

[1] Sozom. v. 5. Julian, Epist. 31, p. 404, ed. Spanheim, 1696. In this letter he speaks of the "madness of the Galilæans" to a Christian Bishop.

[2] Epist. 42.

Digitized by Google

in error, let them go to the Churches of the Galilæans, and expound Matthew and Luke, who forbid our sacrifices. I wish however that the ears and tongues of you Christians may be 'regenerated,' as you would say, by those writings which you value so much. We do not however forbid (Christian) children to go to school."

But practically he did so. Because in his edict on Professors, June 17, 362, he allowed no one to teach who had not a municipal diploma countersigned by the Emperor himself; and as all Grammar Schools were to be seminaries of Paganism, therefore no Christian Parent could send his child to them.[3]

He thus hoped to induce Christian Teachers to renounce their Christianity for the sake of temporal gain and professional advancement, or to reduce Christians to ignorance and barbarism, and to disable them from doing what had been done by Christian Apologists, such as Clement of Alexandria, who exposed the vices and follies of heathenism by reference to its own Poets and Philosophers.

Besides, although Julian refrained from violent acts of persecution of Christianity in his own person, yet he connived at persecution by the heathen and Jewish population of the Empire, and excited them to assaults on the Church by impunity.[4] Consequently we read of a large number of Christian Martyrs in various countries, in Palestine, Phœnicia, Galatia, Phrygia,

[3] The first of these edicts is condemned even by the heathen historian Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 10; xxv. 4. Cp. Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. § 102, pp. 79, 80, 131; Socr. iii. 16; Theodoret, iii. 4; Aug. de Civ. Dei, xviii. 52; Neander, iii. 76. Gibbon says, ch. xxiii. p. 112, "The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians and professors of all liberal arts."

[4] Theodoret, iii. 3. Ambrose, Epist. 40. Tillemont, vol. vii. art. ix.

Digitized by Google

Cappadocia, Thrace, Italy, Egypt, in the short reign of Julian. His inconsistency in this respect was signally exemplified in his treatment of Athanasius, as we shall see hereafter.

In fact, the profession of Toleration of Christianity on his part, coupled with toleration of Persecution of it by others, was merely a heartless mockery, and was more cruel in its results than direct persecution by the imperial power. In the latter case, persecution was regulated, as in Trajan's reign, and was restrained by law[5]; but under Julian, who disclaimed persecution, and professed zeal for liberty of conscience, free range was given to the unbridled passions of an infuriated populace to wreak their wrath on Christianity.

In order also to entrap Christians into idolatry, he resorted to the unworthy artifice of causing his imperial statues to be so intimately combined with images of the gods, that whoever paid homage to the one, as all were required to do, could not be understood to do otherwise than adore the other;[6] and when he distributed donations to his soldiers, he required them to cast incense into a censer, as a prerequisite for receiving his bounty.[7]

He also attempted to weaken Christianity by pauperizing its ministers. He deprived them and their Churches of their endowments and franchises, with which they had been enriched and honoured by Christian Emperors; and he transferred them to heathen priests and temples. And he did this with an ironical sneer, which added bitterness to the penal infliction, by telling them that he gave them an opportunity of practising in their own persons those holy

[5] See above, vol. i. pp. 122—124.

[6] Sozom. v. 17.

[7] Ibid.

Digitized by Google

lessons of patience and contentment under suffering and privations, which the Founder of their religion had commissioned them to teach.

While he thus endeavoured to undermine Christianity, he showed consummate address in his endeavours to popularize Paganism. He not only restored the temples, and assigned to them rich revenues, but he endeavoured to render their religious services more attractive by festal decorations and beautiful music, especially of pagan hymnology. He elevated the dignity of the Priesthood by fresh immunities and privileges; and he endeavoured to raise its moral tone by precept and example, by the study of ethical Philosophy, and by the exercise of moral virtues; in a word, to Christianize heathenism [8] in social respects. And thus he unconsciously paid the highest tribute to Christianity.

The "Galilæans" (as he called the Christians) were proposed by him as an example for the imitation of heathen Priests,[9] in the building of asylums, in the care of the sick and needy, in burying the dead, and holiness of life, and in the erection of schools and monasteries.

"We must attend to these works of philanthropy" (he wrote [1] to Arsacius, Pontiff of Galatia), "because while our poor are neglected by their own priests, and relieved by those of the Galilæans, our religion loses the credit which theirs gains. We must therefore build receptacles for strangers in every city; for it is a base thing that these Galilæans should support our

[8] See Julian, Frag. Epist. 288—299; Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. § iii. pp. 138, 139.

[9] Julian, Epist. xlix. ad Arsacium Pontificem, p. 429. Sozom. v. 16.

[1] Ibid.

Digitized by Google

poor as well as their own, while we suffer them to perish." He therefore made an imperial order that a large annual public grant should be made for these purposes. The Christian Teachers, he said, had wounded Heathenism by arrows plumed with feathers from its wings,[2] and he had therefore prohibited them from instructing their scholars in heathen literature; he also tried to wound Christianity by borrowing its virtues, and by enlisting them in the service of Heathenism.

But under the controlling power of divine providence these designs were overruled for good. While some were beguiled by his flatteries to fall away from the faith, noble examples were displayed of heroism and self-sacrifice among the soldiers and courtiers of Julian. They were winnowed by persecution. The chaff flew off from the threshing-floor of the Church, but the good grain remained, and was made more visible.[3] Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens—afterwards Emperors[4]—stood firm among his troops. Romanus and other soldiers of Julian, having been betrayed unwillingly to take part in an idolatrous ceremony, rose up in indignation, and protested loudly against it, and asked to be cleansed by the fire of martyrdom from the stain of apostasy.[5]

The power and love of Christ was thus also signally displayed. Theodosius, a young Christian at Antioch, was arrested among others on a charge of singing hymns and psalms reproachful of the Emperor's religion. He was put to the rack, and so severe was the torture that it was thought he could not recover

[2] Theodoret, iii. 4. Socr. iii. 12. [3] Socr. iii. 22.
[4] Theodoret, iii. 12. Aug. de Civ. Dei, xvi. 22. Socr. iii. 13.
[5] Theodoret, iii. 13. Sozom. v. 17.

Digitized by Google

from its effects. But he survived; and some time afterwards, when Rufinus the historian asked him whether he suffered much pain during the torture, "No"—he replied—"very little; for a young Man stood by me, who wiped off the sweat from my body when it was on the rack, and also comforted and cheered me, and made the time of my torture to be one not of agony, but of joy."[6]

Julian's attempts to proselytize also elicited noble avowals, and produced generous sacrifices. Cæsarius, the brother of Gregory Nazianzen, the favourite physician of the Emperor, resisted his solicitations,[7] and renounced his high office at court, and retired to his own country. It is superfluous to mention that Julian's former fellow-students, S. Basil and his friend S. Gregory Nazianzen, the brother of Cæsarius, would have rejected the Emperor's overtures if they had been made, and would have dissuaded others from doing so.[8] Many Christian teachers of Literature, such as Prohæresius[9] the Sophist, of Athens, resigned their professorial chairs rather than renounce their faith.

The story of Fabius Marius Victorinus, the celebrated Teacher of philosophy and rhetoric at Rome, is very remarkable. It afterwards bore fruit in the conversion of S. Augustine, and may be described in his words.[1] He relates it from the mouth of Simplician,

[6] Rufin. i. 35, 36. Socr. iii. 19. Ruinart, Acta Martyrum, p. 604. This may be added to similar instances quoted above in vol. i. p. 383.

[7] Greg. Naz. Orat. vii. § 12—§ 14, p. 206, ed. Bened. Paris, 1778.

[8] The letters of Julian to Basil, if genuine, were not addressed to Basil "the Great," but to some other person bearing that name. See Vita Basilii, ed. Bened. vol. iii. p. lx. Paris, 1730.

[9] S. Jerome, Chron. Eunapius, c. 8. Tillemont, vii. 719.

[1] Augustine, Confession viii. 2.

Digitized by Google

the instructor and successor of S. Ambrose in the Episcopal See of Milan. "Simplician had known Victorinus at Rome; and he told me," says Augustine, "what I will now relate. For, O God, it redounds to the glory of Thy grace, that Victorinus—that most learned old man, consummately skilled in all liberal learning, and one who had studied, weighed, and explained so many systems of Philosophy, and had been the teacher of so many noble Senators, and who, on account of his merits in these respects, had been honoured with a statue in the Roman Forum, and who even till his old age had been a worshipper of idols, and a champion of their religion—was not ashamed to become a little child of Thy Christ, and to be an infant at Thy baptismal font, and to bow meekly his neck beneath the yoke of humility, and to submit his forehead to the scandal of the Cross. O Lord, O Lord, Thou, Who didst 'bow the heavens and come down, and didst touch the mountains and they did smoke' (Ps. cxliv. 5), tell me how Thou didst win Thy way into that heart of his? He used to read the Holy Scriptures, and he carefully studied and thoroughly examined all Christian learning, and said to Simplician, not openly, but in the secrecy of friendship, 'I am now a Christian.' 'I will not believe it,' was Simplician's reply, 'nor shall I count you a Christian till I see you in the Church.' 'What!' he answered, smiling, 'do Walls make Christians?' This repartee was often repeated. For he feared to offend his proud heathen friends, who were like 'cedars of Libanus which the Lord had not yet broken' (Ps. xxv. 5), and from whose haughty tops he well knew that blasts of wrath would dash down upon his head. But by dint of reading and poring

Digitized by Google

over God's Word he drank in strength, and feared that he himself would be denied by Christ in the presence of His angels if he feared to confess Him in the presence of men; and he deemed that he himself would be guilty of a heinous sin if he were ashamed of the Sacraments of Christ, whereas he had not been ashamed of the sacrifices of devils; and he ceased to fear shame from what is false, and began to fear shame from what is true.

"'Let us go to the Church,' he said; 'I wish to become a Christian.' Simplician was transported with joy, and went with him. Having there received the requisite instruction, he gave in his name as a candidate for regeneration by baptism, to the wonder of Rome, and to the joy of the Church. Proud men looked on, and gnashed their teeth in rage; but Thy servant, O Lord, placed his trust in Thee, and regarded not lying vanities. The hour arrived when he was to make profession of his faith, according to custom, on a lofty place in the church in the sight of the faithful, and in a form of words prescribed to those who are about to be admitted to Thy grace, and committed to memory. An offer was made him by the presbyters, such as was usually tendered to some who were likely to tremble from bashfulness—that he should make his profession in private; but he refused to do so, and preferred to declare his hope of salvation in the presence of the multitude. For he had made public profession of rhetoric, and had found no salvation there. He therefore mounted the high place to proclaim his faith; and all the faithful who knew him shouted forth his name with a burst of joy, 'Victorinus! Victorinus!' Then at once all were silent to hear his words. He pronounced the pro-

Digitized by Google

fession of the true faith with noble courage; and all who heard his voice embraced him in their hearts with love and delight."

Another advantage thence accrued to the Church from Julian's oppression of it. Able Christian writers, observing that Christian children were debarred from the study of heathen poets, devoted themselves to the composition of Christian poetry. The Church owed to Julian some of the sacred Poems of the elder and younger Apollinaris,[2] and of Gregory Nazianzen.[3]

The writings also of Julian himself, which were designed to subvert Christianity, did in fact tend to strengthen it. The homage which, in his letters to heathen priests and philosophers, he rendered to the virtues of the Galilæans—their works of mercy and charity, their institutions of philanthropy and beneficence—tended to make them admired where otherwise they would not have been known. Thus he became against his will an Apologist for Christianity.[4]

Julian endeavoured to refute Christianity, with which he was better acquainted than most infidel writers. In the winter of A.D. 362, when he was at Antioch, in company with the Sophist Libanius, he composed an elaborate work against it.[5]

To this treatise of Julian the Church owes one of the greatest works of S. Cyril of Alexandria: his vindica-

[2] The elder Apollinaris wrote Greek hexameters on the Old Testament History (Sozom. v. 18). The younger Apollinaris reduced the writings of the New Testament into the form of Platonic dialogues (Socr. iii. 16).

[3] Which are contained in the second volume of his works (ed. Ben.). The Greek Tragedy, "Christus Patiens," printed in the works of Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. pp. 1205—1354, ed. Paris. 1840, belongs probably to the same period.

[4] See above, p. 162.

[5] See below, p. 151.

Digitized by Google

tion of Christianity[6] in ten books against Julian. And it had its uses in other respects. In it Julian, the bitterest foe of the Gospel, bears testimony that the following articles were publicly professed by the Church at that time; viz.—

(1) That there is one Supreme Ruler of the Universe; in opposition to the tenet of Heathenism, and of Julian himself, that different nations are under the care of different deities.[7]

(2) That Christianity proclaims salvation through Christ to all without distinction, and unites all nations in the worship of that one God.

(3) That in this One Godhead there are three divine Essences; and that this doctrine is expressed in the commission given by Christ to His Apostles to baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.[8]

(4) That Christ is Creator and God; and is to be worshipped by all as God.[9]

(5) That Christians then called the Blessed Virgin Mary *θεοτόκος*[1] (mother of God), and thus declared His two Natures (as God and Man) in One Person.

(6) That Christ worked miracles; walked on the sea; cast out devils.[2]

(7) That Christian Baptism cleanses the soul, and washes away sin.[3]

Such is Julian's witness to the faith.

[6] S. Cyril, Opera, tom. vi. part ii. ed. Paris. 1638, where it occupies 363 pages.

[7] S. Cyril c. Julian. iv. 131; vii. 238.

[8] Ibid. vi. 291.

[9] Ibid. v. 159; vi. 213; viii. 262.

[1] Ibid. viii. 262, *θεοτόκον ὑμεῖς οὐ παύεσθε Μαρίαν καλοῦντες.* Cp. p. 276.

[2] Ibid. vi. 213.

[3] Ibid. vii. 245.

Digitized by Google

His connivance also at the persecutions of Christians had the effect of drawing off Christians from controversy, and of concentrating their attention on external dangers. Their former strifes were absorbed into a combined effort to maintain the Truth; and we find in the martyrology of those who suffered for the faith under Julian, the names of some who had depraved it by heresy, and distracted it by schism, such as Mark of Arethusa.

It has been supposed by some[4] that even George of Cappadocia, who supplanted Athanasius at Alexandria, and had enforced an heretical creed on the Catholics there, but was afterwards famous for his zeal against Heathenism, and perished for it in a popular insurrection against him,[5] was afterwards canonized by the Church, and has been "transformed into the renowned S. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the Garter."[6]

The murder of George, together with Julian's edict of Toleration, brought back Athanasius after an absence of about six years (from Feb. 9, A.D. 356, to A.D. 362), and led to the assembling of the Council of Alexandria,[7] in which, with Eusebius of Vercellæ, and Eustathius of Antioch, and many Egyptian Bishops, Athanasius determined the question—What was to be done with those who had lapsed into

[4] E.g. by Gibbon, ch. xxiii.; see the next note but one.

[5] Ammon. xxii. 3.

[6] Gibbon, ibid. ch. xxiii. Gibbon calls this "transformation not absolutely certain, but extremely probable;" and in his "Table of Contents" he says, "George is worshipped as a Saint and a Martyr." But the S. George of England is now more generally supposed to belong to an earlier period.

[7] Concil. General. ii. 809.

Digitized by Google

Arianism,[8] and who had repented of their error, and desired to be restored to the communion of the Church? All who were willing to subscribe the Creed of Nicæa, and to condemn the heresy of those, such as Euzoius and Eudoxius, who said that the Son of God was a Creature, were re-admitted by the decree of the Council to Christian fellowship.

Thus Athanasius wisely endeavoured to obviate the schism which was afterwards created at Antioch by the heat, haste, and harshness of Lucifer of Cagliari, who refused to receive them to communion on any terms, and who even proceeded so far as to consecrate Paulinus to be Bishop of Antioch (although the orthodox Meletius was Bishop there), and thus caused a schism which lasted to A.D. 415.

The Council of Alexandria under Athanasius also rendered great service by healing another breach. It determined that the word *hypostasis* might without offence be used in the same sense as *Person;* and it affirmed the consubstantial divinity of the Person of the Holy Ghost; it also condemned the heresy afterwards known as the Apollinarian, that the Son of God had, as Man, only a human *body* without a *reasonable soul.*

Julian was stirred up by the enemies of the faith (Theodoret does not scruple to say, by the Powers of darkness[9]) to assail Athanasius. "No one would continue to be a heathen at Alexandria," they said, "if Athanasius was allowed to remain there." When Athanasius alleged that he had availed himself of

[8] See above, chap. i. p. 32, and Athan. ad Antiochenos, p. 318, and Epist. ad Rufinianum, p. 768, ed. Bened. 1777.

[9] Theodoret, iii. 5. Compare above, p. 156.

Digitized by Google

Julian's edict of Toleration, the Emperor's reply was that he had allowed the exiled Bishops "to return to their homes, but not to their churches."[1] Julian sent orders that he should be banished[2] from the city and from Egypt. He speaks with reverence of its deity "Serapis, and of his friend Arius," and in contemptuous terms of Athanasius, whom he reviled as a "meddler," a "miscreant," a "paltry manikin,"[3] "the enemy of the gods, who has presumed in my reign to baptize noble Grecian ladies." He censures the Alexandrians for "worshipping God the Word, whom their fathers had not known. Hearken to me," he says, "and return to the truth. For twenty years of my life I walked in the path which you are treading" (that of Christianity), "but now by the help of the gods I have been walking for twelve years in that which I now tread."[4]

He ordered them to put Athanasius to death, who therefore[5] left Alexandria for his fourth banishment. "This cloud will soon pass away," he said;[6] and having embarked in a boat on the Nile, he was sailing up the river, when he heard that the persons who were ordered to kill him were following him, and he told the boatman to turn back. When he met his pursuers, they asked, "Where is Athanasius?" "He is not far off" was his reply; and he sailed by them, and remained in Alexandria till the death of Julian.

[1] Julian, Epist. to the Alexandrines, 26, p. 398.

[2] Theodoret, iii. 5. Socr. ii. 13, 14. Sozom. v. 15. Julian, Epist. 6 to Ecdicius, Præfect of Egypt, p. 376; Epist. 51 to the Alexandrines, p. 432.

[3] ἀνθρωπίσκος εὐτελής, Julian ad Alexandrinos, Epist. 51, p. 435.

[4] Epist. 51; written therefore after Nov. 6, 362. Julian was born Nov. 6, 331.

[5] Theodoret, iii. 5.

[6] Sozom. iii. 14. Theodoret, iii. 5.

Digitized by Google

The most memorable act in Julian's deep-laid design for the subversion of Christianity, and for the restoration of Heathenism, was his attempt, in the last year of his reign, A.D. 363, to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, and to erect a fabric on Mount Moriah which would eclipse the splendour of the Church built by Constantine on Calvary. In this endeavour he not only had Heathenism as his ally, but Judaism also. The Jews being asked by Julian, Why they did not offer the sacrifices prescribed in their own law, replied that sacrifices could not be offered according to that law in any other place than that which the law enjoined, the Temple at Jerusalem. He would therefore, he said, enable them to comply with their law by rebuilding their Temple;[7] and he promised also that when he had returned victorious from his campaign in Persia, he would rebuild their City also.[8]

Julian did this, not in any love for their religion, which in his writings he treated with scorn,[9] but in order to enlist them in his service against Christianity. Julian knew, and some of the Jews knew, that Jesus Christ had pre-announced to the Jews the destruction of their Temple, and that He had foretold that not "one stone would remain on another," and that "their house would be left unto them desolate," because "they knew not the day of their visitation."[1] Therefore in his attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, Julian was an antagonist of Christ. He

[7] Sozom. v. 22. Socr. iii. 20. S. Chrys. in Jud. iii. p. 435.

[8] Julian, Epist. 25 ad Judæos, p. 398.

[9] Julian, Frag. pp. 541, 542, where he speaks contemptuously of the Hebrew Prophets; cp. Sozom. v. 22. He derided (says Gibbon ch. xxiii.) the Mosaic history and the Christian dispensation, and preferred the Greek Poets to the Hebrew Prophets.

[1] Matt. xxiii. 38; xxiv. 2. Luke xix. 44.

Digitized by Google

entered the lists against Him; he challenged Him as a false prophet; he proclaimed publicly to the world that he would convict Him of falsehood; and he engaged God's ancient people the Jews, who had crucified Jesus Christ, in a confederacy with him against Christ; and he hoped by this confederacy to show that Christianity was a fraud, and to re-instate Heathenism in its room.

The progress and result of this enterprise is related by Christian writers—by Gregory Nazianzen in one of his orations [2] composed only a year after the event, by Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem at the time,[3] by S. Ambrose a few years afterwards,[4] and by the Church-historians of the fourth and fifth centuries, Rufinus,[5] Theodoret,[6] Socrates,[7] Sozomen,[8] and by Chrysostom,[9] and by the Arian Philostorgius;[1] and no ancient contradiction of their testimony has been adduced.[2]

The Emperor made costly preparations for the work; he summoned skilful artificers from various quarters, and appointed one of his most trusty and dear friends,[3] Alypius of Antioch, who had

[2] Greg. Naz. Orat. iv.

[3] Cyril ap. Socr. iii. 20.

[4] Ambrose, Epist. 40. The words of Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius in that letter are remarkable: "Hast thou not heard, O Emperor, that when Julian had commanded the Temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, they who were engaged in the work were consumed by divine fire?"

[5] Rufin. x. 37.

[6] Theodoret, iii. 15.

[7] Socr. iii. 20.

[8] Sozom. v. 22.

[9] Chrysostom c. Judæos, i. 580, 646; ii. 574, ed. Ben.

[1] Philostorg. vii. 9, 14.

[2] Julian himself seems to refer to it, Frag. Epist. p. 295, quoted by Warburton, Julian i. ch. 4; Newman, clxxviii.

[3] See Julian's two letters to Alypius, whom he calls his "dearest brother," Epist. 29 and 30, p. 402.

Digitized by Google

been Pretorian Vicar in Britain, to superintend the design which (as the heathen historian Ammianus says) was intended by him to be an illustrious monument of his reign; and he ordered the royal treasurers to supply the funds requisite for the purpose.

The Jews responded gladly to the call. Some flocked to Jerusalem,[4] and took part personally in the work. Jewish women contributed their costliest ornaments for its expense, and in the enthusiasm of hope and joy the Jews made spades and pickaxes and baskets of silver for what they considered an act of zealous devotion to the service of their God.

The result is described as follows. After much time and toil had been spent in clearing out the site for the foundation, and materials had been collected for the reconstruction of the Temple, they were suddenly swept away by a hurricane and whirlwind. When this tornado had ceased, the preparations for the building were renewed; these also were overthrown and engulfed by an earthquake, and some of the workmen were swallowed up by it. After the earthquake, others returned to the spot, and resumed the work of building the Temple. On this third attempt, fire burst forth from the foundations, and consumed some of the builders; others escaped by flight. No further endeavour was made, the work was abandoned, and the open space remained as a monument of the abortive enterprise.

Such is the testimony of the Christian writers already mentioned.

[4] Gibbon says (ch. xxiii.), "The Jews from all the provinces of the Empire assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers, and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem."

Digitized by Google

But this narrative does not rest only on Christian testimony. It is remarkable, that, as it pleased God to raise up a celebrated person, a Jew, a Priest, a Pharisee, and a soldier, Josephus, who served in the army of Titus, the son of Vespasian, to give to the world a history of the siege and destruction of the Temple and City of Jerusalem by the Roman armies, and so to avouch the truth of Christ's prophecies concerning them; so, by a providential dispensation, a friend and eulogist of Julian, a soldier serving in his army, a much-respected heathen historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, has left to posterity a record of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem,[5] and to falsify Christ's prophecy concerning it.

Ammianus thus writes:[6] "Julian being desirous of perpetuating the memory of his Empire by the magnitude of the work, resolved to restore at an enormous cost the Temple at Jerusalem, formerly so magnificent, but which after much internecine slaughter had been first besieged by Vespasian, and then with difficulty razed to the ground by Titus. Julian entrusted the work to Alypius, formerly propræfect in Britain. When he was strenuously urging it on, and the Governor of the province was assisting

[5] Gibbon himself thus speaks (chap. xxiii. p. 107): "An earthquake, a whirlwind, and an eruption which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the Temple, are attested with some variations by contemporary and respectable evidence. This public event is described by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in an Epistle to the Emperor Theodosius; by the eloquent Chrysostom, who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen, who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared that this preternatural event was not disputed by infidels, and his assertion is confirmed by the unexceptionable contemporaneous testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus."

[6] Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 1.

Digitized by Google

him, terrific balls of fire burst forth with frequent eruptions near the foundations, and made the place inaccessible to the workmen, some of whom, at different times, were consumed by fire. Thus, when the elements obstinately repelled them, the work ceased."[7]

That work, which was designed by Julian, warring against Christ, to be a monument of his own glory, and to be a proof of Christ's falsehood, and to be a triumph of heathenism over Christianity, recoiled upon Julian to his confusion, and redounded to the honour of Christ, and to the confirmation of Christians in the faith, and to the conversion of many Jews and Gentiles to the Gospel.[8] Some historians add that after this event a luminous Cross appeared in the sky over Jerusalem, and that crosses were imprinted on the garments of many persons in the city.[9]

But now the end was near. When Julian was instigating and aiding the conflict of Heathenism and Judaism against Christianity at Jerusalem, he was also personally engaged in a campaign against Sapor, king of Persia, and he promised the Jews that on his return from it he would rebuild their city, and would exterminate the Galilæans.[1]

The narrative of the causes and progress of that

[7] For further remarks on this history, the reader may refer to Bishop Warburton's "Julian," Works, vol. viii. ed. Lond. 1811, pp. 1—236; Cardinal Newman on Ecclesiastical Miracles, pp. clxxv—clxxxiv.

[8] Theodoret, iii. 15. Sozom. v. 22.

[9] Theodoret, iii. 15. Sozom. v. 22. Socr. iii. 20. As to the impression of crosses on garments, see Tillemont on S. Jerome, Art. 142, Ann. 419, tom. xii. 548; Warburton's Julian, pp. 122—126, and the singular statement quoted from Isaac Casaubon as to the phenomenon of the crosses impressed on bodies in Wells Cathedral in A.D. 1596.

[1] Theodoret, iii. 16.

Digitized by Google

Persian expedition belongs rather to civil history.[3] But it may be observed, that while he desired and endeavoured to falsify the prophecies of Christ, he was consulting his own deities on the future success of his enterprise. He sent envoys to the Oracles of Apollo at Delphi and Delos, and of Jupiter at Dodona,[3] and the responses to them were favourable: "Go and conquer." The language of one of these Oracles is recorded: "We, all the gods, have marched forth to win trophies of victory at the *wild-beast river*,[4] and I, the impetuous battle-stormer Mars, will be the leader." Julian supposed the river designated as a *wild beast* to mean the *Tigris*, and he was encouraged by that assurance to march onward to its banks. His friend Maximus, the philosophic Magician, announced to him the same prosperous issue of the campaign. The presages of the Christians concerning Julian were different, and were proved by the event to be more true. "This cloud will soon pass away" was the prediction of Athanasius, when driven by Julian from Alexandria. "What is the son of the carpenter doing?" was the question of Julian's friend, the Sophist Libanius,[5] at Antioch, where he looked for a sure and speedy victory; "He whom thou callest the son of a carpenter is the Creator of all things, and is now making a coffin," was the Christian teacher's reply. The death of Julian seems to have been made known to some Christians like Didymus and Sabas by supernatural means.[6]

[2] See Gibbon, chap. xxiv.

[3] Theodoret, iii. 16. The site of *Dodona* must therefore have been well known at that time. May I refer to my Article, on its discovery, in the "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. ii. p. 228?

[4] Ibid., *παρὰ θηρὶ ποταμῷ*.

[5] Ibid. iii. 18.

[6] Sozom. vi. 2. Theodoret, iii. 19.

Digitized by Google

Julian was a believer in the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and imagined that the soul of Alexander the Great had passed into himself, and that Alexander's victories in Persia would be reproduced in his own.[7] At first all things seemed prosperous. He engaged the Persians on the left bank of the Tigris, and gained a brilliant victory. The words of one oracle seemed to be now verified, and he hoped for the fulfilment of the rest. Only seventy-five Romans had fallen in the battle, while the enemy had lost more than two thousand men. He pursued them to the gates of the city Ctesiphon. Elated by triumph, and deceived by a Persian spy, he rashly determined to push forward into the heart of the country; and he ordered his ships to be burnt. But he was deceived by the perfidy of his guides, and in distress and self-reproach at his reckless infatuation he sounded a retreat towards the Tigris. The Persians, who before had been on the defensive, now became the assailants. His heathen chronicler[8] relates that when his mind was agitated with anxiety for the safety of his troops, in the silent hour of night, "the Genius of the Empire" (whom he had seen in Gaul, and who had then encouraged him to march against Constantius as a rival for the throne) "appeared to him, covering his own head, and the horn of abundance (Cornucopia), with a funeral veil, and then vanished from his tent with a doleful look of sorrow. Julian rose from his couch, went forth into the air and saw a fiery meteor shooting across the sky, and then plunged into thick gloom.[9] He was horror-struck at the

[7] Socr. iii. 21.

[8] Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 2.

[9] Ibid. This historian was in Julian's army at the time.

Digitized by Google

sight," adds the historian; "he had seen the menacing aspect of the star of Mars, the god of war, who had formerly promised to lead him to victory, but whose wrath he had afterwards incurred by a rash threat that he would never offer him any more sacrifices."[1]

At break of day Julian led his troops to battle; he was foremost in the attack, which at first was successful. The enemy fled before him, and he animated his soldiers in the pursuit; but a volley of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadron. It was the height of summer, and on account of the heat of the sun,[2] whom he worshipped as a god,[3] he had thrown off his cuirass, and was therefore exposed to more danger. He was mortally wounded by a javelin from an unknown hand, and was carried from the battle into his tent, and on the morrow, June 26, A.D. 363, at midnight he died.[4]

Such was the end of Julian, the last survivor of the family of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine.

The death-bed of Julian was surrounded by sorrowing friends.[5] And doubtless both in life and death he had strong claims for commiseration. His early

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. xxiv. 6.

[2] This is stated by Zonaras, *διὰ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγωσιν (θέρους γὰρ ἦν ἀκμὴ) τὸν θώρακα ἐκδυσάμενος*: and Libanius (in Orat. Funeb. p. 303) says that he was unarmed (*ἄοπλος*). Zonaras adds that Julian, when he was at Antioch, had seen in a dream a youthful figure, which said to him that he would die in *Phrygia*. When on his death-bed (see Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 3), he asked what was the name of the place in Persia in which he was, and the reply was *Phrygia;* to which he answered, "O Sun, thou hast destroyed Julian!"

[3] Julian, Epist. 13. Orat. iv. p. 130, "On the Sun, the King."

[4] Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 3. In the 32nd year of his age, after a reign of one year, eight months, and twenty-three days.

[5] "Demissi et tristes," Ammian. Marcellin. ibid.

Digitized by Google

years were passed in seclusion and without sympathy. This has been already described.[6] And we cannot fail to recognize that in some respects he stands forth as a noble contrast to those who have warred against Christianity in ancient and modern times. He was not an Atheist: far from it; he had a deeply-rooted faith in the existence of divine powers, and in their superintendence and control of the affairs of the Universe. Everything in his eyes was full of deity. He looked also forward to a future eternal world, in which the soul, which had been conscious on earth of its divine origin and glorious destiny, and which had therefore loved on earth what was true, just, and pure, would, when delivered from the burden and corruption of the body, have uninterrupted and eternal communion with heavenly and divine beings.[7]

This belief, which was deeply seated in his heart, and was expressed energetically in his life, produced whatever was noble and virtuous in his character, temperance, justice, fortitude, and prudence—as portrayed by the heathen historian of his actions.[8]

But while this is in all fairness recognized and affirmed, it must not be forgotten that Julian, having been educated as a Christian, deliberately renounced the faith, and put forth all the energies of his imperial power, and of his intellectual faculties, in deliberate and strenuous endeavours to subvert Christianity, and to restore Heathenism. He led Heathenism, allied with Judaism, to the battle against Christianity. In the whole range of Greek and Roman history no

[6] See above, p. 146.

[7] See his oration on his death-bed in Ammianus, xxv. 3.

[8] Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 4. False Religions, as contrasted with Atheism, may conduce to temporal good, as has been well shown by Hooker, V. i.

Digitized by Google

one can be mentioned who worshipped the deities of Paganism with more fervour and devotion than Julian. He was an imperial personification of the religion of Heathenism; and if the power of the gods of the heathen Pantheon was to be measured by the success of its votaries, no one had so good a claim to aggrandizement and glorification at their hands as he had, and as he claimed to have.

The history of his endeavour to subvert Christianity and to restore Heathenism has now been traced, and at the close of his short reign we may pause with sadness, not unmingled with awe, when we inquire into the cause which led to such consequences.

The heathen historian[9] has revealed the ruling passion of his life, vain-glory, when he says, "Julian was fond of the sound of his own voice, and could rarely hold his tongue. He rejoiced in the applause of the vulgar, and had an intemperate appetite for praise even from the pettiest things; and loved to talk even with unworthy men, from an inordinate passion for popularity."

His taste had been vitiated in early life by the unnatural affectation, tinsel ornaments, and pompous self-conceit and self-display of such vain-glorious rhetoricians as his favourite author and model Libanius;[1] and it is no wonder that he had no relish for

[9] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv. 4, "Linguæ fusioris et admodum rarò silentis. Vulgi plausibus lætus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans appetitor, popularitatis cupiditate cum indignis loqui sæpe affectans." See also De Broglie, L'Église et l'Empire au 4ième Siècle, iv. 407—410, who has drawn his character with a skilful and impartial hand.

[1] It is well observed by Neander, iii. p. 52, that the lectures of Libanius, of which Julian was passionately enamoured, "being barren and dry as to all genuine reflection or imagination, and rich only in

Digitized by Google

the healthful sobriety and homely vigour and noble simplicity of the Gospel of Christ.

He was deficient in that princely dignity and majesty, which is expected in royal personages; as is clear from his condescending to skirmish in a battle of words and in a satirical burlesque on his own subjects at Antioch,[2] interspersed with grotesque raillery on his own personal appearance, and from his pasquinade on his own predecessors in the imperial throne.[3] Above all, he was devoid of that modesty and humility which dispose men to seek for divine truth, and to be ready to receive it; and he lacked that simplicity of mind and singleness of purpose which make them love truth for truth's sake. He was wanting in that gravity, seriousness, and earnestness of purpose which are needful for a Christian.

His life was a sophistical study and rhetorical exercise of the schools; he was fond of placing himself in picturesque theatrical attitudes, playing the part of an actor with histrionic artifice, and straining every nerve for dramatic and scenic effect, even on his death-bed.[4] No wonder that the Gospel of Christ had no attractions for him, and that he loathed that spiritual food which can only be tasted by the palate of faith.

This want of simplicity was combined in Julian's character with disingenuousness and insincerity,

ornaments of rhetoric, could have attractions only for an ill-ordered mind, unaccustomed to healthy nourishment, alien from simplicity, and easily pleased with the glare of superficial ornament.

[2] In his Misopogon, Opera, pp. 337—371, ed. 1696.

[3] In his work entitled "The Cæsars," Opera, pp. 306—336, ed Spanheim, 1696. See above, p. 151.

[4] See his studied oration on his death-bed in Ammianus Marcellinus xxv. 3.

Digitized by Google

which were moral disqualifications for a right appreciation of the beauty of the Gospel of truth. His professions of equity and toleration in dealing with the Christians were a hollow and hypocritical mockery; he encouraged heresies in order that he might rend the Church by their means; his paltry quibble on th return of Athanasius[5] was a specimen of his policy; his flattery and patronage of Judaism, in promising to rebuild the Temple and City of Jerusalem, wer specious pretences and delusions which unmasked themselves by the contemptuous and sarcastic terms in which he spoke, at the same time, of Mose and the Prophets, as well as of Christ and the Apostles.[6]

Even his acts of philanthropy and beneficence had an air of unreality. They appear, as we have seen,[7] to have been prompted by a spirit of ambition and emulation, and by a desire to vie with the Christians in their acts of mercy, and to win for heathenism a popularity for virtues which he envied rather than loved.

The character of Julian has been called by some a mysterious enigma. But the solution of that enigma is not hard to find for those who believe those sacred writings which Julian knew and despised.

If it be true that "mysteries are revealed to the meek,"[8] and that "the secret of the Lord is among them that fear Him;"[9] and that them that are meek shall He guide in judgment, and such as are gentle, them shall He learn His way;"[1] and that "whosoever willeth

[5] Above, p. 171.

[6] Above, p. 172.

[7] Above, p. 162, in his letter to Arsacius the heathen Priest of Galatia on the erection of asylums, &c.

[8] Ecclus. iii. 19.

[9] Ps. xxv. 13.

[1] Ps. xxv. 8.

Digitized by Google

to do God's will shall know of the doctrine ;"[2] and that He "hides His mysteries from those who in their own conceits are wise and prudent,[3] and reveals them to those who in simplicity are babes;" and that men "must become meek and docile as little children,[4] if they are to enter into the Kingdom of God ;" if it be true that "He turneth wise men backward, and maketh diviners mad,[5]" then we are not to be surprised at Julian's defection from the faith, and at the subtle devices and heartless malignity with which he endeavoured to undermine and subvert it. If also it be true that they "who have been once enlightened,[6] and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, cannot be recovered while they are crucifying the Son of God afresh, and are putting Him to an open shame," it would indeed have been a strange thing if the career of Julian had been other than it was, inasmuch as he reviled those Scriptures which he had read publicly in the Church, and washed away his baptism by the blood of the mysteries of Mithras, and after twenty years' profession of Christianity took up arms against it, and exerted the force of the Roman Empire in a deliberate and strenuous endeavour to exterminate it, and to restore Heathenism in its place.

The consequences of such a temper and habit of mind, and of such acts as these, were as disastrous as they were inevitable. He was punished by his own devices. He renounced the truth, and was given over to a strong delusion. His fate inspires awe and sorrow,

[2] John vii. 17.
[3] Matt. xi. 25.
[4] Matt. xviii. 3.
[5] Isa. xliv. 25.
[6] Heb. vi. 4, *πεφωτισμένοι*, a word specially applied by ancient writers to Holy Baptism—which Julian profaned ; see above, p. 154.

Digitized by Google

and teaches the wisdom which is the child of fear. He was chastised with judicial blindness for his rejection of Christianity, and became a victim of puerile credulity and degrading superstition.[7] With audacious self-confidence and self-conceit, he denied the truth of Christ's words, and resolved to show the falsehood of His prophecies by rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem, and he was ignominiously baffled in that attempt, which recoiled to his own disgrace and redounded to Christ's glory. He despised the prophecies of Christ, and abandoned His religion and worship for that of the heathen gods, and he was beguiled by the false predictions and the lying divinations of the oracles of those gods, to his own destruction in that campaign in Persia where they had promised him victory;[8] and at last he fell, in that fatal expedition, by an unknown hand. Therefore, whether the actual words were spoken by him[9] or not, his history proclaims the result of the struggle in this emphatic sentence—" *Thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!*" (*νενίκηκας, ὦ Γαλιλαῖε.*)

[7] See Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv. 4.

[8] As the friend and eulogist Libanius said of Julian (de Vitâ suâ, p. 46) after his death, "The gods made him the most brilliant promise; at first they refused him nothing, at last they totally renounced him; they lured him on, as a fisherman lures a fish, by the bait of an Assyrian conquest which ended in his death."

[9] As is asserted by Theodoret, iii. 20.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

From the accession of the Emperor Jovian, A.D. 363, *to the death of Athanasius,* A.D. 373.

THE reign of Julian, who attempted to subvert Christianity, and to restore Heathenism, was favourable in its results to the one, and disastrous to the other. It had the effect of healing the schisms of the Church, and of uniting her members in a vigorous resolve to act and suffer for the truth; it produced many glorious martyrdoms; and his deliberate endeavour to overthrow Christianity by rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, and proving thereby that Christ was a false Prophet, had displayed the truth of Christ to the World, and had manifested the infatuation and futility of the Emperor's assaults on the religion he hoped to destroy. In the eyes also of that large number of persons who measure power by success, the ill-fated campaign of Julian in Persia had exposed the inability of the deities of heathenism, whom he worshipped, to prosper the arms of their most enthusiastic votary. The heathen themselves could hardly fail to mark the contrast between the good fortune of two Christian Emperors, Julian's uncle Constantine, and his cousin Constantius, in that same country, and the calamities of Julian there, disastrous to the Empire, and fatal to himself. Constantine had kept Persia in check, and the troops of Constantius,

Digitized by Google

who was far inferior to Julian in military skill and courage, had achieved a brilliant victory over the Persian forces at Nisibis, which with five Mesopotamian provinces was now ceded by the Romans to Persia, as a consequence of Julian's disaster, who in A.D. 362 had written a menacing and vaunting letter to Arsaces the Satrap, in which he commanded him to join with him against the Persians; and if he refused to do so, "Arsaces," he said, "will perish, and Nisibis will share his fate."

Julian had removed the Christian Monogram from the Labarum of the Roman Legions, where it had been placed by the hand of Constantine, and had substituted the initials S.P.Q.R. for it; but that removal and substitution had been followed by ignominy and loss not much less dishonourable and deplorable than that which tarnished the Roman name after the rout of Varus in Germany, or had been incurred by the Roman legions when they lost the national standards in the Parthian disaster of Crassus.

The temper of a military Nation may be inferred by the action of its troops. Julian died childless, and the appointment of his successor devolved on the Army. On the 27th of June, the day after Julian's death, they chose Jovian, the chief of the imperial body-guard, but not a general of the forces.[1]

With the frankness for which he was noted, Jovian declared himself a Christian; probably this was already notorious, for he had incurred disgrace from Julian for the bold confession of his faith. His religion did not disqualify him for the imperial dignity in the eyes of his comrades. On the con-

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 5.

Digitized by Google

trary, when he said, "I, who am a Christian, cannot take the command of an Army which has served under Julian, and is infected with his errors; and if I did, I could not hope for a blessing from heaven on my arms"—"Do not hesitate, Emperor," was the reply, "to accept the proffered dignity; we also are Christians; the elder among us were trained in the faith by Constantine, the younger by Constantius; and the reign of Julian was too short to make his errors take root even in the minds of those who for a time were deceived by them." [2]

The popular feeling of the Nation as a whole with regard to Christianity as compared with Heathenism may be inferred from this choice, and from the next following election of Valentinian, also a Christian confessor under Julian.

Jovian, having accepted the offer of the throne, concluded a peace with Persia, which a Roman historian [3] calls "disgraceful but necessary." That peace was imputed by others [4] to Julian rather than to Jovian. He commanded Procopius, the near relative of Julian, to convey the corpse of the Emperor to a suburb of Tarsus in Cilicia, where Julian himself had desired to be buried.[5] It is remarkable that one who had renounced Christianity for Heathenism, and had endeavoured to subvert it, should have chosen as his resting-place the city in which the Apostle was born, who having persecuted the Gospel became its noblest preacher to the Heathen world. Perhaps Julian made the choice because he was thus brought into immediate neighbourhood to

[2] Theodoret, iv. 1. Socr. iii. 22.
[3] Eutropius, x. 17.
[4] As Greg. Nazian. Orat. iv.; Augustine de Civ. Dei, iv. 29; v. 21.
[5] Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 2; xxv. 9.

Digitized by Google

the last Imperial Persecutor of Christianity, Maximinus, who was buried within a short distance of the spot selected by Julian for his own grave.

Jovian appears to have been firmly persuaded that national prosperity depends on the blessing of God. He declared this to his army, and one of his first acts was to restore the Christian symbol to the Labarum of the Roman legions. He gave back to the Churches and Clergy the franchises, immunities, and endowments sequestered by his predecessor; and he reinstated the Bishops who had been ejected from their sees for their profession of the faith of Nicæa.[6]

He appears to have acted energetically during his short reign, in destroying heathen temples, and in building Christian churches.[7]

The time had arrived when Athanasius, now in the thirty-seventh year of his Episcopate, having been banished by three Emperors in succession—Constantine, Constantius, and Julian—was to receive from a fourth, Jovian, the tribute due to his innocence and constancy in the faith.

Jovian wrote to him as follows:—

[6] Theodoret, iv. 2.

[7] In the summer of 1832, I copied the following Inscription, which is engraved over the portal of the Church of S. Mary in the Palæopolis of Corfu (the ancient Corcyra), in which Jovian speaks of his own activity in these respects, and which is also an interesting utterance of reverent modesty and humility. The Inscription is in the character of the uncial Manuscripts of that period; but for the convenience of the printer and reader I will represent it in cursive letters:—

αὕτη πύλη Κυρίου, δίκεοι (*sic pro* δίκαιοι) εἰσελεύσοντε (*sic*) ἐν αὐτῇ.
πίστιν ἔχων βασίλιαν (*sic*) ἐμῶν μενέων συνέριθον,
Σὶ, μάκαρ Ὑψίμεδον, τόνδ' ἱερὸν ἔκτισα νηὸν,
Ἑλλήνων τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς ἐξαλαπάξας,
χειρὸς ἀπ' οὐτ.δαθῆς Ἰοβιανὸς ἔδνον (qu. ἔεδνον?) Ἀνακτι.

The first two and last lines do credit to the Emperor's piety and humility. I suggest ἔεδνον in the last, for the metre's sake.

Digitized by Google

"Jovian[8] to the most religious, beloved of God, Athanasius.

"Admiring the virtuous qualities of thy life, and of thy resemblance to the God of the Universe, and of thy affection to our Saviour Christ, we welcome thee, O most honoured Bishop. And because after all thy toil, and the terror of thy persecutors, thou didst not crouch in fear, and hast counted as dung the perils and menaces of the sword, and because holding fast the helm of the orthodox faith dear to thee, even to this present day thou strivest for the truth, and continuest to show thyself a pattern to the whole people of the faithful, and a model of virtue; therefore our royal authority recalls thee, and wills thee to return for the teaching of salvation. Come back, therefore, to the holy Churches, and feed the people of God, and send forth from thy heart prayers to God for our clemency; for we know that through thy supplication we, and all with us who are Christians, shall receive powerful assistance from the Almighty God."

Jovian also desired Athanasius to send him a declaration of the true Catholic Faith. To this request Athanasius, with the Synod assembled by him at Alexandria, made the following reply:[9]—

"To the most religious and gracious Emperor, Jovian, Augustus, Conqueror, Athanasius and the rest of the Bishops who have come together to represent all the Bishops of Egypt, the Thebaid, and Libya.

[8] Athanas. p. 622, ed. Bened. In the superscription Jovian does not assume the titles "Victor, invictus, Augustus," but calls himself simply Jovian. Another sign of his modesty.

[9] Ibid. Theodoret, iv. 3.

Digitized by Google

"It well becomes a Prince dear to God to love instruction, and to desire heavenly things. Thus thou wilt truly have thy heart in the hand of God. Since therefore thy Piety wishes to know from us the faith of the Catholic Church, we give thanks for this to the Lord, and we have resolved, after deliberation, in preference to all other things, to remind thee of the faith professed by the Fathers at Nicæa. Some persons, having neglected this faith, have conspired in various ways against us, because we did not assent to the Arian heresy; and they have become guilty of heresy and schisms against the Catholic Church. The true and religious faith in the Lord is manifest to all, being known and acknowledged from the Holy Scriptures. To this faith the Saints, being perfected, have borne witness; who, having been now released from the burden of the flesh, are with the Lord. This faith would have remained unimpaired, if the wickedness of some heretics had not presumed to tamper with it. Arius and they who were with him endeavoured to corrupt it, and to intrude their impiety against it, affirming that the Son of God was formed from things that did not before exist, and that He is a Creature, and was made, and is subject to change. They deceived many with their words, so that even those who 'seemed to be somewhat[1] were carried away together with them' by their blasphemy, albeit the holy Fathers who were assembled in the Council of Nicæa as aforesaid anathematized it, and set down in writing the faith of the Catholic Church, and confessed it; so that, this faith having been proclaimed everywhere, the heresy kindled by the heretics was quenched.

[1] Gal. ii. 6.

Digitized by Google

"But since certain persons, wishing to renew the Arian heresy, have now presumed to reject the faith confessed by the Fathers at Nicæa, and notwithstanding pretend to acknowledge that faith, while in fact they deny it by misinterpreting the word *homoousion;* and also utter blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, by saying that He is a creature, and was made by the Son; and since we are constrained to consider the damage done to our people by this kind of blasphemy, we have hastened to present to thy Piety the faith confessed at Nicæa, that thou mayest know what is written there with all accuracy, and in what error they are, whose teaching is contrary to it. Know therefore, most religious Emperor, that this faith hath been alway preached; and that the Fathers at Nicæa professed it, and that all Churches everywhere communicate in it, namely, the Churches in Spain, Britain, Gaul, all Italy, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mœsia, Macedonia, Greece and all Africa, and Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia, Isauria and Egypt, the Libyas and Pontus and Cappadocia, and those Churches which are near us, and the Churches of the East, except a few which agree with Arius. We have letters from these Churches assuring us of this fact."

Athanasius then sets down the *Nicene Creed*, and after it he adds,—

"In this faith, O Emperor, it is necessary that all men should abide, being, as it is, divine and Apostolic; and no one should tamper with it by fair speeches and strivings of words, as the Arians have done, affirming the Son to be formed of things that did not before exist, and that there was a time when He did not exist, and that He was created and made, and is

Digitized by Google

changeable. For this cause the Council of Nicæa anathematized such a heresy as that, and professed the true faith; for they did not merely say that the Son is *like* the Father, lest the Son should be thought to be only like to God, but they set down in writing the word *homoousios* (*consubstantial*), which is the special characteristic of a genuine and true Son of Him Who is a true Father, and such by nature. Nor did they separate the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son, but on the contrary they glorified the Holy Spirit in the one faith of the Holy Trinity, because in the Holy Trinity there is One Godhead."

Such was the Synodical Epistle of Athanasius and his Suffragans to the Emperor Jovian.

In the mean while, however, a Council of twenty-seven Bishops met at Antioch,[2] under the presidency of the venerable Meletius. Even Acacius of Cæsarea was there. They too addressed a Synodical letter to Jovian, in which they professed to adhere to the faith of Nicæa,[3] but explained it in a way so as to admit those who acknowledge the Son to be *like* in substance to the Father. They condemned also the *Anomœans*.[4]

The Anomœan party was broken at this time by intestine feuds. Aetius and his disciple Eunomius at Constantinople took upon themselves to consecrate some new Bishops, in order to strengthen their party; but this gave great offence to Eudoxius, Bishop of Constantinople, who in his turn was treated indignantly by Euzoius of Antioch, another leader of the same sect. Thus they gave practical proof, that if the Nicene faith had been abandoned for any of the numerous Arianizing Confessions which were pro-

[2] Sozom. vi. 4. [3] Socr. iii. 25.

[4] I. e. those who said that the Son was *unlike* the Father.

Digitized by Google

pounded for it, the Church would have been distracted by schism as well as corrupted by heresy.

Jovian was not drawn aside from his straightforward course by any of these conflicting parties. He graciously received the Synodical Epistle from Alexandria, and invited Athanasius to Antioch.[5] In his replies to certain Addresses he received at Antioch from Arians,[6] who requested him to send another Bishop to Alexandria, he declared his assent to the Epistle of Athanasius. "I have already settled that business," he said. "I know well why Athanasius was accused and banished; I have inquired diligently into the whole affair, and am convinced that he teaches the true faith; and whoever wishes to know what the faith is, let him go and learn it from him. You say he calls you heretics; yes, and it is his duty to do so; it is the duty of all who teach the truth to denounce heresy."

One of those Addresses to Jovian was presented by friends and followers of George of Cappadocia, the deceased intruder into the See of Athanasius. When the Emperor had received the Addresses, and had learnt who they were that presented them, he "clapped spurs to his horse, and galloped off to the plain."[7]

Lucius also presented himself; he was the priest of Alexandria whom the Arians had intruded into the See of Alexandria on the death of George of Cappadocia.[8] When the Emperor had heard his name, and had learnt that he had come by sea, he exclaimed,

[5] Sozomen, vi. 5, leaves it doubtful whether Athanasius went to Antioch of his own accord to see Jovian, or was invited by him.

[6] Ibid. pp. 624, 625.

[7] P. 624. "The plain" used for military reviews and exercises.

[8] And whom they afterwards attempted to intrude into that see on the death of Athanasius, A.D. 373.

Digitized by Google

"May the Lord of the Universe and the Sun and Moon wreak their anger on those who sailed with thee, for not throwing thee overboard; and may the ship in which thou camest never have prosperous winds, and never come safe to port."

These specimens of Jovian's character and manner are graphically sketched in the narratives of those interviews; and we have also a vivid portraiture of his person. In stature he was so tall and large that no purple robe[9] of sufficient amplitude could be found to cover it when he was chosen Emperor. His jovial countenance, bright blue eyes, bluff manner, blunt questions and brusque answers, his love of truth, his brave[1] and outspoken profession of the Christian faith, and his loyal vindication of Athanasius, make us more familiar with this royal soldier than we are with some princes whose reign was of much longer duration. His vices were of such a kind that, according to Ammianus (who was not prepossessed in his favour), he would probably have corrected them when in the responsible station of Emperor.[2] Allowances were also to be made for his profession and his youth. He was not much more than thirty-one years old when he succeeded Julian; and the Roman Camp was not a school of moral virtues. But it pleased God to limit his reign to eight months. He quitted Antioch in the winter of A.D. 363 on his way to Constantinople, and was at Ancyra in Galatia on Jan. 1, 364, and on

[9] Ammian. Marcellin. xxv. 10, "Incedebat motu corporis gravi, vultu lætissimo, oculis cæsiis, vastâ proceritate et arduâ, adeò ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad mensuram ejus aptum inveniretur."

[1] Even by the heathen historian (Ammian. Marcellin. ibid.) he is called "Christianæ legis studiosus;" the Church historians are eloquent in his praises.

[2] "Imperiali forsitan verecundiâ correxisset."

Digitized by Google

Feb. 17 he reached Dadastana, on the confines of Galatia and Bithynia. The season was cold, the chamber in which he slept, and which had been newly plastered, was damp, and was heated with charcoal; he suffered from repletion and suffocation, and died that night in the thirty-third year of his age.[3]

The Church seems to have taken advantage of the respite afforded by the death of Julian and succession of Jovian, for holding synodical assemblies. The most celebrated of these was the Council of Laodicea, which is supposed to have been held in or about the year 363.[4]

The decrees of this Council are, like those of

[3] Sozom. vi. 6.

[4] It must certainly have been posterior to A.D. 344, because the 7th Canon of it refers to the Photinians, whose baptism it rejects, and who were not condemned till A.D. 344 by the Eusebians, and till A.D. 345 by the orthodox. See Hefele, p. 747. They were condemned again at Sirmium in 351, and at Milan, A.D. 355, and Photinus died in exile, A.D. 366. The ground of the supposition that the Council of Laodicea was held in A.D. 363, is that Gratian says (Decret. Pars i. Dist. xvi. c. 11), "Synodus sexta Laodicensis, in qua patres XXXII. statuerunt Canones LXI., quorum auctor maximè Theodosius Episcopus extitit;" and a Theodosius was Bishop of Philadelphia in Lydia at that time, and held a Synod there. Philostorg. viii. 3, 4, p. 521, ed. Vales. Epiphan. Hær. lxxiii. This opinion has been propounded by Gothofridus and Philostorg. (l. c.), and Pagi, Crit. Ann. 314, No. 25, and by Gieseler, p. 347, and by Professor Westcott on the Canon, p. 497 (ed. 1855). It is disputed by Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, i. 748, who however allows that this Synod was held after A.D. 344, and before A.D. 381.

If the Theodosius mentioned by Gratian as taking the lead in the Laodicene Council was—as seems probable—the same as the Theodosius the Eunomian Bishop mentioned by Philostorgius (the Arian Church-historian), then the Laodicene Council was under Arian influence, as was the Council of Antioch in A.D. 341 (see above, p. 81). This circumstance is interesting as showing that there were many good points in the characters of many Arian Bishops—especially reverence for Holy Scripture (see above, p. 37). The Canons of Antioch (notwithstanding its Eusebian character) were received into the Code of the Church; so were the decrees of Laodicea, being, like them, disciplinarian.

Digitized by Google

Gangra,[5] of a disciplinarian character; and with the exception of the last are rather *titles* of canons, and descriptive of their purport, than canonical enactments.[6]

They are of considerable interest, as illustrating the Ritual as well as the Discipline of the Church.

The Council forbids the ordination of newly-baptized persons (Can. 3), and it prohibits Ordination to be solemnized in the presence of those who were only under catechetical instruction (Can. 5). It does not permit the people (ὄχλους) to elect their priests (Can. 13), and it orders that Bishops shall be chosen by the Metropolitan and neighbouring Bishop (Can. 12).

It forbids the placing of Bishops in villages,[7] and allows only itinerating visitors (περιοδευτὰς) in such places; and orders that the *Chorepiscopi* (country bishops) shall do nothing without the consent of the Bishop in the Cathedral City; and that Priests shall do nothing without the authority of the Bishop (Can. 57). It specifies—besides priests and deacons —readers, chanters, exorcists (Can. 24), sub-deacons (Can. 21). It forbids the clergy to travel without canonical letters (Can. 40). Canon 11 forbids the appointment of *presbyteresses* (πρεσβύτιδες) or female *presidents* (c. Epiphan. Hæres. 79; Hefele, p. 757).

With regard to the divine service of the Church, the Council orders that, after the Sermon of the Bishop, Prayers for the catechumens shall be said; and that when the catechumens have quitted the Church, the Prayers for the penitents shall follow; and that when

[5] See below, p. 243.

[6] The decrees of this Council are in Concil. General. i. 1495; Bruns, i. 73; Beveridge, Synod. p. 553, with the notes of Balsamon and Zonaras.

[7] Cp. Conc. Antioch. c. 13; Conc. Ancyr. c. 13; Conc. Sard. c. 6. The χωρεπίσκοποι appear *generally* to have had the *order* of Bishops (see Binterim, and Augusti, in Hefele, p. 774), but not the *jurisdiction*. But some had not the *order*, and could not ordain. Thomassin (ibid. p. 774).

Digitized by Google

they have come near and received imposition of hands, and have retired, then the Prayers of the faithful shall succeed; which are to be three: the first silent prayer, the second and third *vivâ voce;* then "the peace" shall be given (i. e. the "kiss of peace," Suicer, Lex. p. 1033; cp. Bingham, Antiq. xv. chaps. 1 and 3). First the Priests shall give the "peace" to the Bishop, then the Laity shall give "the peace;" then the holy oblation shall be celebrated, and the Priests only shall go to the altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) and communicate there (Can. 19). The Priests may not enter and take their seats in the sanctuary (*βῆμα*) before the entrance of the Bishop, unless he is disabled from attending, or absent from home (Can. 56). The sub-deacons may not sit in the presence of the priest, except by invitation of the priest; and the deacon is to be honoured by the sub-deacons and clerks (Can. 20). Sub-deacons, readers, and chanters may not wear the *orarium* or stole,[8] or, (as some say,) maniple (Can. 22 and 23). None may exorcise without the Bishop's leave (Can. 26).

The Council forbids the sending of *eulogiæ* or consecrated[9] elements at Easter to other Dioceses (Can. 14). Clerks or laymen, invited to *agapæ* (love-feasts) may not take away any portions of the feast (Can. 27). Love-feasts are not to be holden in Churches (*κυριακὰ*), and tables for eating, and for reclining at, are not to be spread in the house of God.

Neither Bishops nor Priests are to celebrate the holy oblation in private houses (Can. 58).

Canons 49, 50, 51, 52 deal with the times and manner of fasting, especially in Lent.

Canons 45, 46, 47 refer to the Sacrament of Baptism, and the learning of the Creed by heart.

[8] Hefele, p. 765.

[9] Cp. ibid. p. 760.

Digitized by Google

After baptism, baptized persons ought to receive the holy unction (*χρίσμα ἐπουράνιον*), and be made partakers of the Kingdom of God (Can. 48).

Canon 2 refers to the reception of penitents to Communion. Heretics, as long as they persist in heresy, are not to be admitted to the Church (Can. 6); and the faithful ought not to resort to the churches or cemeteries of heretics for prayer, on pain of excommunication (Can. 9 and 32).

Novatians and Quartodecimans may be received to communion on their repentance and abjuration of heresy, when they have learnt the symbol of faith (the Creed), and have received the holy unction (Can. 7). But Montanists (Phrygians), although they may be clerks, must be instructed first, and then be baptized by Priests or Bishops of the Church (Can. 8).

Christians must not quit the Church of God, and go and invoke Angels, and make unlawful assemblies; and if any one is discovered to be addicted to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, as having forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God (Can. 35).

The Church-historian Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in the fifth century (in his note on Col. ii. 18, ibid. iii. 17), quotes this Canon of the Council of Laodicea as forbidding the worship of Angels, and relates that oratories of S. Michael still existed in Phrygia in his day.

The Council forbids priests and clerks to practise magic and sorcery and astrology, or to make amulets and charms (*φυλακτήρια*) (Can. 36).

Canons 37, 38, 39 interdict all fellowship with Jews or Heathens in religious ceremonies (cp. Can. 29). With regard to the sacred Books to be used in the public worship of the Church, the Council made

Digitized by Google

these enactments: "No one is allowed to lead the singing[1] in the Church, except the 'canonical chanters, who are allowed to ascend into the *ambon* (pulpitum), and who sing from the Church music-books (διφθέραι, vellum chant-books) (Can. 15). Psalms are not to be sung continuously, but with intervals between each for reading (of Scripture) (Can. 17). On Saturdays the Gospels[2] are to be read together with other Scriptures (Can. 16). The same office of prayers is to be used at Nones[3] and Vespers" (Can. 18).

The last two Canons (Can. 59 and 60) deal with Psalmody and Holy Scripture: "No Psalms of *private* introduction (ἰδιωτικοὶ, i. e. not publicly authorized) are to be used in the Church, nor uncanonical books, but only the Canonical Books of the New and Old Testament" (Can. 59).

The 60th Canon specifies Books of Scripture. These are the same as those specified in the Sixth Article of the Church of England—with the exception of the Book of Revelation, which the Laodicene Canon omits.[4] This omission of the Apocalypse does not affect its Canonical authority, because the Canon does not profess to declare *what* books are *Canonical*,

[1] See Hefele, p. 761. Cp. Neander, iii. 428.

[2] Perhaps Judaizers used to read only the *Old* Testament on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. Saturday was a festival in the East; a fast, at Rome. Neander, iii. 402.

[3] I. e. the festivals were not to end at Nones, but to be continued till Vespers inclusively.

[4] The genuineness of this 60th Canon has been questioned by some, as Spittler on this Canon, A.D. 1777; Professor Westcott on the Canon, pp. 500—508; also by Fuchs and Herbst. See Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, i. p. 776, who accepts it as genuine; and so Bp. Cosin, p. 76, ed. Oxf. 1849, and Mr. Ffoulkes in Archdeacon Cheetham's Dict. iii. p. 529. The list here given is confirmed by S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. iv. § 35, § 36, p. 69, ed. Venet. 1763, and others, see below, p. 202. Cp. Bp. Cosin on the Canon, p. 64, Oxf. 1849.

Digitized by Google

but *what* books are to *be publicly read in the Church;* and the Council may have deemed it inexpedient that the Apocalypse should be publicly read, on account of the mysterious character of its contents, and because some, in their opposition to millenarian notions, ascribed it to Cerinthus.[5] Perhaps also the unfavourable description given of the Church of Laodicea in the Apocalypse (Rev. iii. 14) may have created some prejudice against it there.

The Books of Holy Scripture (says Athanasius in his 39th Festal Epistle[6]) are the "fountains of salvation;" and before we quit this decree of Laodicea, it may be well to dwell a little longer on the questions, "How did the ancient Church determine *what books* are divinely-inspired Scripture? and *what* are the *books* which she pronounced to be such? in other words, What was her '*Canon of Scripture*'?"

As to the Old Testament, she grounded her judgment on the principle enunciated by St. Paul,[7] that to the Jews were committed the oracles of God, and that what *they received* as Scripture *is* Scripture. And this principle was established by the fact that our Blessed Lord, who is 'God manifest in the flesh,'[8] and as God has perfect knowledge, did in the days of His earthly ministry communicate with the Jews in their Synagogues, which He habitually attended on the Sabbath day,[9] and in which those Books which they called "the Law and the Prophets," and which we call "the Old Testament," were publicly *received and read as the divinely-inspired Word of God.* Our Lord took part in this public reading;[1] and He also appealed to those Books as the inspired Word

[5] As may be seen in my work on S. Hippolytus, p. 25, note.
[6] Athan. p. 767; see below, p. 219. [7] Rom. iii. 1, 2.
[8] 1 Tim. iii. 16. [9] Luke iv. 14—17. [1] Ibid.

Digitized by Google

of God; as for example in His Walk to Emmaus, and in His appearance to His Apostles, on the day of His Resurrection;[2] and He commands all men to receive them as divine.[3] And therefore the Apostle St. Paul declares that every Scripture—that is, every book received by the Jews as such—is given by inspiration of God.[4]

Accordingly we find that the earliest Christian writers, when they desired to ascertain *what* were the divinely-inspired writings of the older dispensation, resorted for information to the Jews in Palestine. We have an example of this appeal in Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in the second century, who in his Epistle to Onesimus, preserved by Eusebius,[5] states that he had gone to the East for this purpose, and sets down as the result of his inquiries a catalogue of the Books of the Old Testament. This contains those writings which the Jews received as inspired, and which were from them received as such by the Ancient Church.

That Catalogue is identical with the list of Books of the Old Testament which the Church of England receives in her Sixth Article.

This list is the same as that which is specified by Origen,[6] Athanasius,[7] S. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem,[8] S. Hilary,[9] Rufinus,[1] S. Gregory Nazianzen,[2] who has set down the "Canon of Scripture" in hexameter, pentameter, and iambic verses.

Another friend of S. Basil, Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium in Lycaonia, and Metropolitan, inserted a

[2] Luke xxiv. 27, 44.
[3] See John x. 35; Luke xvi. 29—31.
[4] 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.
[5] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iv. 26.
[6] Euseb. vi. 25.
[7] P. 767.
[8] S. Cyril, Catech. iv. c. 3.
[9] S. Hilar. Prolog. in Psalm. § 15.
[1] Rufin. in Symbol. Apost. p. 26.
[2] S. Greg. Naz. Carm. No. xii. tom. ii. p. 259.

Digitized by Google

"Canon of Scripture" in an Epistle of 333 iambic verses addressed to one of his young scholars, Seleucus.[3]

From these various documents it is clear—

(1) That the *Hebrew* "Canon of Scripture" was the Canon of Scripture of the *Church.* The only variation seems to be with regard to the Book of Esther, which is *omitted* by some; unless, as Bishop Cosin[4] supposes, it is contained in the word *Ezra*, as being supposed to have been written by him.

(2) That there were certain Books which *we* call "*Apocryphal*," but which ought to be called *Ecclesiastical*, which might be read in the Church (*Ecclesia*), but were not held to be divinely inspired, nor properly within the "Canon of Scripture," but held a *middle*[5] place between the Canonical Books and those which the *Ancient* Church called *Apocryphal*, and which were *not* to be *read* in the Church.

[3] This Epistle of Amphilochius, written in iambic verse, Paris, 1644, pp. 117–135, gives an interesting picture of the manners of the times, especially of the popular vices of the day, and deserves a better recension than it has, I believe, yet received. For example, describing the character of the effeminate men of the time, Amphilochius says, according to the common text (*v.* 91) that they are μελῶν λογισμοῖς συγκατακλῶντες φύσιν, where we ought, I conceive, to read λυγισμοῖς, *contortions;* compare Horace, 3 Od. vi. 22,

"Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo et *frangitur* artubus;"

and Cicero de Fin. v. 12, "*flexi, fractique* gressus," which Greg. Naz. calls ἀνδρόγυνα λυγίσματα.

Again, Amphilochius, ibid. *v.* 260, speaking of *apocryphal* writings, says,

ἃ βασίλεως μὲν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν φέρει,
κίβδηλα δ' ἐστὶ ταῖς ὕλαις δολούμενα,

which can neither be scanned nor construed; and where I conjecture we should read, κίβδηλα δ' ἐστὶ, καὶ σὺ λως δολούμενα, i. e. "and *wickedly* counterfeited." Cp. Homer, αἴσυλα ῥέζων, Iliad v. 403.

[4] Bishop Cosin on the Canon, ed. Oxf. 1849, p. 59, Num. lvi.

[5] They are elegantly called by Amphilochius, ibid. *v.* 255,

ἔμμεσοι καὶ γείτονες,
ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, τῶν ἀληθείας λόγων,

and are distinguished by him from the νόθοι καὶ κίβδηλοι.

Digitized by Google

As to the *New Testament*, the far greater proportion of the Books of it were *received at once* by the Church Universal—as soon as they were written—as divinely inspired and Canonical. For a time there was a question as to the *authorship* (*not* the *canonicity*) of the Epistle to the Hebrews, because it had not St. Paul's name prefixed to it, as his other Epistles had, and because it differed in style from those Epistles. But in the fourth century the Eastern Church, and after it the Western Church, appear to have settled down unanimously into the opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by that Apostle.

The second Epistle of St. Peter differs also in style from the first; and though St. Peter's name is prefixed to it, and though, by a personal reference, the Author identifies[6] himself with St. Peter, yet the Church wisely thought it to be her duty to wait, till she was satisfied of its genuineness and authority by careful examination, before admitting it into the Canon: which at length she did; and her prudent delay in this respect gives greater weight to her judgment on the subject.

The same may be said of the other small disputed portions (*ἀντιλεγόμενα* as they were called) of the New Testament, viz. the Epistle of St. James, the 2nd and 3rd Epistle of St. John, St. Jude's Epistle, and the Apocalypse. These books were not at once received by all Churches, nor were they known by all. Some Churches had better opportunities than others of examining into their claims to reception. The dissemination of forged writings made it necessary for Churches to be cautious; one Church after another tested these books, and approved them, till at length they were received by *all Churches;* and this *universal reception* of these Books, together with the

[6] 2 Pet. i. 18, and 2 Pet. iii. 1.

Digitized by Google

other Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, by the Church of God, is no other than the Judgment of Christ Himself, the Eternal Word, dwelling in the Church, and giving her the Holy Spirit to "teach her all things, and to lead her into all truth."[7] It is the Voice of the Eternal Word concerning the Written Word.

But to resume the history. After the death of Jovian, the Army on its arrival at Nicæa in Bithynia unanimously chose[8] Valentinian to succeed Jovian. Valentinian was not present at the time; but being invited to Nicæa by the Army, he returned from Melitina in Armenia, to which he had been banished by Julian, under whom he had served as a tribune of the legion of Joviani. When Julian was in Gaul, about to march against Constantius, and was offering sacrifice in a temple, and was attended as usual by the tribunes of Jovians (deriving their name from Jupiter), and was crossing the threshold, some drops of the lustral water sprinkled by the priest fell on the uniform of Valentinian; he tore off that part of it, and flung it away, with words of reproach to the priest who had sprinkled it. From that time Valentinian was obnoxious to Julian, who, on some alleged failure of military duty, banished him to Armenia.

When Valentinian had been saluted Emperor by the soldiers, they desired him with importunate clamour to associate with himself a partner in the

[7] John xiv. 26; xvi. 13. The words of the Church of England in her Sixth Article, referring to the *external testimony* of the Church Universal on this subject, are full of wisdom, as distinguished from the language of some Protestant communions, making the evidence of Inspiration to depend on "the reader's *inner consciousness*."

[8] Ammian. Marcellin. xxvi. 1, "Valentinianus, nullâ discordante sententiâ, numinis aspiratione cœlestis electus est."

Digitized by Google

Empire. "Comrades," he replied,[9] "it was for you to choose me Emperor, or not; but now that you have chosen me, you must leave that matter to me." However, when he arrived at Constantinople he admitted his brother Valens on March 28 to a share in the Imperial power, reserving the West to himself, and assigning the East to him. "Both of the brothers," say Sozomen,[1] "were Christians, but differed in opinion and in manner of life. Valens, when he was baptized,[2] was trained by the Arian Bishop Eudoxius,[3] and became a strenuous partisan of Arianism,[4] and endeavoured to enforce it upon all. His elder brother Valentinian embraced the faith of Nicæa, and encouraged all who professed it, but did not molest those who dissented from it."

The two brothers went together to Sirmium; thence Valentinian proceeded to Milan, where he arrived on June 1, 364, and Valens returned to Constantinople.

In the year 364, many Laws were made by the two Emperors conjointly in favour of Christianity.[5] The edicts of Julian were rescinded which prohibited Christians from teaching in Grammar Schools. Nocturnal sacrifices and magical ceremonies were interdicted. No Christian was to be required to serve in

[9] Ammian. Marcellin. xxvi. 2 and 4.

[1] Sozom. vi. 6. Theodoret, iv. 12.

[2] Valens was not baptized till A.D. 367, when he was going to march against the Goths. Till that time he was not so unfavourable to the Catholics. Theodoret, iv. 11, 12.

[3] Bishop first of Germanicia, then of Antioch, in A.D. 356, and lastly of Constantinople, A.D. 359. He died at Nicæa in A.D 370, whither he had gone to consecrate a Bishop. He was at first an Arian, then he became a Semi-Arian, and then an Anomœan and Aetian; but finally he opposed Aetius.

[4] Especially under the influence of his wife Albia Dominica. Theodoret, iv. 11.

[5] They may be seen in Fleury, iv. 138.

Digitized by Google

the police or army for the protection of those heathen temples which were still allowed to remain. Certain Laws were enacted by Valentinian in honour of the Lord's Day, and of the Festival of Easter; on the former no legal proceedings against Christians were to be instituted; and on the latter, release was granted to prisoners convicted of minor offences.

In A.D. 364, and in the greater part of 365, Valentinian was at Milan, where he ordered an audience to be given to Auxentius the Arian Bishop in a plea against two celebrated Catholic Bishops, S. Hilary of Poictiers and Eusebius of Vercellæ. S. Hilary had endeavoured to eject Auxentius as a heretic from his see. The matter was referred[6] by the Emperor to an Ecclesiastical Court of Bishops in presence of the Imperial Quæstor. Auxentius, after some demur, declared that he believed that the Son of God was God of the same substance with the Father. But being pressed to set down more fully in writing his faith, he did so, and at the same time he appealed to the Council of Rimini as authoritative, and to the decree by which Hilary and Eusebius had been condemned.

S. Hilary in his work still extant comments on that confession of faith which was adopted at Rimini; it is called by him the "blasphemia Auxentii," and is altogether at variance with the declaration that "the Son is of one substance with the Father." But Valentinian, like Constantine, was a lover of peace, and allowed himself to be imposed upon by plausible speciousness of verbal utterances. "Auxentius," says Hilary,[7] "deceived the Emperor by words; and by them the enemies of Christ may deceive the very elect."

[6] S. Hilar. c. Auxent. pp. 597–602.

[7] Ibid. p. 598.

Digitized by Google

Valentinian received Auxentius graciously, and ordered Hilary to quit Milan. Hilary did so, and addressed a circular Letter with this title, "To our most dearly beloved brethren the Bishops, and to all people abiding in the faith of our fathers, and detesting the Arian heresy, Hilary their fellow-servant wishes everlasting salvation in the Lord." In it he thus speaks:[8]—

"Specious indeed is the name of Peace, and beautiful is the idea of Unity; but who can doubt that the only Unity of the Church and of the Gospel is the Peace of Christ? This is the Peace which He left us when He was going to the Father (John xx. 19); this is the Peace, most dearly beloved brethren, which we ought to seek when lost, and which, when disturbed, we ought to compose, and which, when found, we ought to hold fast. But now we have an Antichristian Unity forced upon us. Strenuous endeavours are made by some that Christ may be denied when He is supposed to be preached. Men labour to maintain the cause of Christ by courting the powers of the World. O ye Bishops, I ask you to consider what were the suffrages which the Apostles asked for the preaching of the Gospel? By what powers of the World were they enabled to preach Christ, and to win the Nations from idols to God? When they sang hymns to God in prison and in bonds, and after scourgings (Acts xvi. 25), did they invoke the aid of an officer from the Palace? Did Paul, who was a spectacle in the theatre, ever gather together a Church by means of an Imperial Edict? Did he ask for the patronage of a Nero, a Vespasian, or a Decius? And yet those holy men, who laboured with their hands,

[8] S. Hilar. c. Auxent. p. 593.

Digitized by Google

and met in secret chambers and upper rooms, and traversed towns, villages, and countries in spite of decrees of Senates, and edicts of Kings, had they not the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven? And did not God stretch forth His Hand to help them by ordering the things of this world in such wise that Christ was more fully preached in proportion as the preaching of Christ was more strictly forbidden? But now, alas! earthly suffrages impose divine faith, and Christ is convicted of weakness by the canvassing of earthly patronage in behalf of His Name. Now the Church scares men by exile and imprisonment, and forces them to believe her by dint of banishment and bonds. She who was consecrated by the menaces of her persecutors, now hangs a suppliant on the condescension of those who communicate with her. She who was propagated by the banishment of her priests, now banishes priests. She who cannot be Christ's, except the World hate her, now boasts that the World loves her. Such is now the condition of the Church in comparison with the Church which was entrusted to our keeping, and which we are now in danger of losing by reason of the treachery of Bishops. But thank God the people in our Churches [9] believe what they hear. They hear there that Christ is God, and they therefore deem Him to be God. They hear there that He is the Son of God, and they believe His Sonship to be real. They hear that He existed '*before all worlds*,' and they think this to mean that He existed *always*. And so the ears of our people are holier than the hearts of our Priests." [1]

[9] The conservative virtue of the Nicene Creed, sung or said in Churches, is exemplified by this assertion of S. Hilary, which might be also applied to the Athanasian Creed. See Hooker, V. xlii. 6—13.

[1] "Sanctiores aures plebis quàm corda sacerdotum," Hilar. p. 597.

Digitized by Google

Hilary then inveighs against Auxentius, whom Valentinian had maintained in the See of Milan. "I will not preach two Gods" (says Auxentius), "because there are not two Fathers. Who does not perceive that according to Auxentius the Father alone is to be confessed as God? But, says Auxentius, 'the Son is *like* the Father according to the Scriptures.' But if the Son is truly God, why do we hear of His mere *likeness* to God? True; Christ is the image of God. Yes, but Adam also was created in God's image and likeness. Why, O thou heir of Arius, dost thou concede to Christ only what belongs to us men? Thou sayest Christ may be called God. Yes, and Moses is called a God to Pharaoh (Exod. vii. 1). Thou callest Christ God's First-born Son. Yes, and Israel is His first-born (Exod. iv. 22, 23). Thou sayest that Christ was born before all time. Yes, and the Devil also existed before the world. Thou deniest only to Christ that which is His proper right, namely, to be true God, and of one substance and Godhead with the Father."

Hilary also exhorts the Bishops not to dote too much on secular things. "One thing I warn you. Beware of Antichrist. You err in your love of walls. You err in your veneration for the Church in her roofs and masonry. You err in importing into such things the name of Peace. Will not Antichrist take his seat there?[2] Mountains, Woods and Lakes, Prisons and Whirlpools—in these the Prophets dwelt or were plunged; and in them they prophesied by the Spirit of God.[3] Therefore separate yourselves from Auxentius, the messenger of Satan, the enemy of Christ, the desperate destroyer of the Faith which he professed to the Emperor in order to deceive him, and by which

[2] In the Temple of God. 2 Thess. ii. 4. [3] As Jonah.

Digitized by Google

he did deceive him, in order that he might blaspheme."

Such is the language of S. Hilary, one of the noblest of the Church's Confessors, who saved Gaul[4] from heresy, especially by his works on Synods and on the doctrine of the Trinity. In his invective just cited against the Arian Bishop of Milan, Auxentius, and in his philippics against the Arian Emperor Constantius,[5] he flows on in that impetuous torrent of impassioned rhetoric, which made S. Jerome call him "Latinæ Eloquentiæ Rhodanum,"[6] the "Rhone of Latin Eloquence." To the candid and impartial reader it may probably appear that in his holy zeal against Arianism he was betrayed into too much personal asperity and vehemence against its partisans; and that his just indignation against those who sacrifice the spiritual essence of the Church of Christ to her temporal accidents, and his enthusiastic admiration of Prophets and Apostles, who strove for the truth against the world, and overcame the world by suffering, tempted him to forget that they had special gifts of inspiration and miracles which were not continued to

[4] Sulpic. Sever. ii. 1.

[5] Liber "contra Constantium Imperatorem," written A.D. 360, and probably published after the Emperor's death; see S. Jerome, Scr. Eccl. c. 100, compared with the Benedictine note prefixed to Hilary's work, p. 551. In that work, p. 575, he says, "Constantius res blasphemiæ suæ metu extorsit exilii . . . nihil prorsus aliud egit quàm ut orbem terrarum, pro quo Christus passus est, diabolo condonaret." Athanasius, who first wrote a respectful Apology to Constantius (i. 234), was moved afterwards to change his tone in his history of the Arians addressed to the Monks, A.D. 358 (i. p. 272), in which he compared Constantius to Pharaoh, Saul, Pilate, and Antichrist, pp. 303—307.

[6] S. Jerome, in lib. ii. Comment. ad Galat. p. 255; and S. Jerome also says (Epist. 104, ad Paullin.), "Hilarius Gallicano cothurno attollitur."

Digitized by Google

after-times; and that God has declared His Will in His Word that Princes should be nursing fathers of the Church (Isa. xlix. 23). S. Hilary's righteous wrath against the abuses of temporal power in Ecclesiastical affairs by arbitrary Princes had made him unable to recognize the benefits which the Church has received from God by means of some of His earthly Vicegerents ruling according to His Laws and for the advancement of His Glory. Some good has accrued to her not only from the favour of a Constantine, a Jovian, and a Theodosius, but even from some of the laws of a Constantius and a Valens.

It is worthy also of remark, that Valentinian, who was deceived by the Arian Bishop Auxentius at Milan, and whose act in that respect inflamed Hilary's resentment against temporal Powers, was made instrumental by God's providence about ten years afterwards in giving to the City and Church of Milan, and to the Church Catholic, one of the greatest spiritual blessings they ever enjoyed, in the person of S. Ambrose, the noble champion of orthodoxy against Arianism, and the brave assertor of Church discipline against the Emperor of the world, Theodosius.

S. Hilary returned to his own Episcopal see, Poictiers, and soon afterwards passed away in a holy death to the land of peace (A.D. 367); to which he was soon afterwards followed by his dear friend, and brother Bishop, Eusebius of Vercellæ.

The East under Valens was in much greater danger from Heresy than the West under his elder brother Valentinian, who encouraged the orthodox, while he was tolerant of those who dissented from them.

On Aug. 24, A.D. 367, Valentinian, being seized with a dangerous malady, declared his son Gratian Augus-

Digitized by Google

tus, then eight years of age, the issue of his marriage with Severa, whom, to the great injury of the Western Church, he divorced, in order to marry the beautiful widow of the tyrant Magnentius, Justina; she became the mother of Valentinian the younger, whom she induced to propagate Arianism and to persecute S. Ambrose.

In A.D. 365, a Council at Lampsacus on the Hellespont put forth decrees in favour of *Semi-Arianism*, and condemned equally the Homoousians and the Anomœans.[7] But these decrees, so far as the Anomœans were concerned, were not ratified by the Eastern Emperor, Valens, who was prepossessed in favour of Arianism by his wife, Albia Dominica, and by the influence of Eudoxius, Bishop of Constantinople.[8]

In A.D. 366, Valens quelled the insurrection of Procopius, a relative of Julian and an aspirant to the throne, and condemned him to death. Some years afterwards he punished Maximus the philosopher and magician, who had perverted Julian from the faith. Maximus had escaped the Emperor's hands till A.D. 374, when Valens discovered that some persons were resorting to magical arts, in order to ascertain by divination who would succeed him on the throne. They constructed, we are told,[9] a tripod of laurel, and consecrated it with magical incantations; and placed it in the middle of an apartment fumigated with Arabian odours, and set it on a stand, engraved on its margin with the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet. A Magician, clothed in linen vestments, and wearing linen sandals, and having a

[7] Sozom. vi. 7. [8] Ibid. Theodoret, iv. 11, 12.
[9] Socr. iv. 19. Sozom. vi. 35.

Digitized by Google

laurel-branch in his hand, performed certain mystical charms, and shook a magical ring suspended by a thread round the edge of the stand, and dipping down on the letters of the margin, and by means of the letters on which it dropped in its rotatory motion, he spelt out an oracular answer to the question proposed.

When the inquiry was made, "Who would succeed Valens?" the ring indicated certain letters in this order, ΘΕΟΔ (THEOD). These letters were interpreted to mean that some one whose name began with those two syllables would be the Emperor's successor. The report of this oracular process reached the ears of Valens, and he punished those who were concerned in it. Many of the magicians were put to death. Maximus, among them, was beheaded.[1] The maker of the tripod, Simonides, was burnt alive. A nobleman, whose name was Theodosius, was beheaded. Other persons, exposed to suspicion by those initial syllables, changed their names, or were executed.[2]

Another oracle was delivered by them at the same time, that Valens would perish by fire.[3]

The Emperor's eager partisanship of the extreme form of Arianism, under the influence of Eudoxius, had the good effect of approximating the Semi-Arians to the Homoousians. Having met in small Synods at Smyrna, and in various places in Pisidia, Isauria, Pamphylia, and Lycia, they resolved to imitate Athanasius, and to invoke the aid of the West. They sent deputies to Pope Liberius,[4] who,

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. xxix. 1. Eunap. Vit. Maximi, p. 104.

[2] Ibid. Sozom. vi. 35. Socr. iv. 19. Philostorg. ix. 19.

[3] Ibid. xxix. 1, and xxx. 14. See below at the end of Chapter vii. for the sequel of this strange story.

[4] Socr. iv. 12.

Digitized by Google

after his unhappy fall, had become more zealous for the Nicene faith, and received them to communion on their subscribing the faith of Nicæa, "which," said Liberius, "contains perfect truth, and stops the mouths of heretics." At the same time they condemned the formula of Rimini, and censured various heresies repugnant to the Nicene Creed. Liberius wrote a letter [5] in his own name, and that of the Bishops of Italy and the West, to sixty-six Bishops specified by name, and to all the orthodox Bishops of the East, in which he testified his joy at the union thus consummated between the Eastern and Western Churches.

This was one of the last acts of Pope Liberius. Our Lord's words to St. Peter, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," [6] probably sounded in his ears with a voice of power. He retrieved his denial of the faith by a good confession; and he who had excommunicated Athanasius, and joined himself to the Arians, now condemned Arianism, and proclaimed the truth of the faith for which Athanasius contended, and for which he suffered; and he followed Athanasius in an endeavour to join together the East and the West in one confession of the truth.

The letters of Liberius were carried by the Eastern deputies to Sicily, where a Synod was convened, which agreed with them in confirming the Nicene faith. These envoys had similar success in Illyria,[7] where Germanicus,[8] Bishop of Sirmium (so notorious for its heretical formularies), was partially recovered to the faith. They were also well received at Tyana

[5] Contained in Socr. iv. 12.

[6] Luke xxii. 32.

[7] Theodoret, iv. 8.

[8] He was brought back as far as to Semi-Arianism, Concil: Gen. ii. 841.

Digitized by Google

in Cappadocia, where the letters of Liberius were read and approved.[9] They went also to Tarsus in Cilicia for the same purpose; but in that design they were thwarted by Eudoxius, the Arian Bishop of Constantinople.

Liberius died on Sept. 24, A.D. 366, and was succeeded by Damasus, who had accompanied him in his banishment to Berœa. His election to the Papal Throne was disputed by a rival, Ursinus.[1] Scenes of riot and bloodshed ensued, which gave occasion to the censorious strictures of the heathen historian, Ammianus Marcellinus,[2] on the wealth of Roman Prelates, which they amassed from the offerings of rich matrons, and on their splendid costumes, and pompous equipages, and sumptuous tables, more luxuriously furnished than those of kings. "Well would it be for them," he adds, "if they would imitate the lives of some provincial Bishops in the frugality of their diet, the simplicity of their attire, and the humility of their demeanour, by which they commend themselves to the Eternal God and His true worshippers." "Make me Bishop of Rome," said one of its Prefects to Damasus, "and I will be a Christian tomorrow."[3]

The removal of the seat of Empire from Rome, and the rarity of the visits even of Western Emperors to Rome, imparted a secular importance and prominence to the power of its Bishops, and, together with other concurrent circumstances, had not only the effect of putting the Bishop of Rome on a par with the most illustrious temporal princes, but of raising him eventually to an eminence of dominion superior

[9] Concil. Gen. ii. 836.
[2] Ibid.
[1] Ammian. Marcellin. xxvii. 3.
[3] S. Jerome, Epist. 61 ad Pammac.

Digitized by Google

in dignity to theirs, and far wider in extent. The place vacated by the Cæsars was occupied and filled by the Popes.[4]

The cause of Damasus was successful. He was sixty years of age at his election to the see, and held it for nearly twenty years. He maintained the true faith[5] in the West, and was distinguished by literary accomplishments. He was an elegant versifier, according to S. Jerome,[6] who served when young as his secretary at Rome; but he was not to be compared in nobility of spirit with his predecessor Julius, the friend of Athanasius.

It must be confessed that increase of wealth and honour were not favourable to the faith and morals of Rome. There was a manifest decline in Damasus, who, as we shall see, in his intercourse with S. Basil had not the large-hearted sympathies for those who were struggling for the truth, which, as we have said, had characterized Julius, and even Liberius. And the effeminacy and libertinism which prevailed amongst Ecclesiastics at Rome are described with severe reprobation by the Pope's Secretary, S. Jerome.[7] These and other causes brought upon Rome, as a just retribution, the calamities which she suffered when

[4] And thus, in course of time, St. Paul's prophecy was fulfilled. May I be permitted to refer to my note on 2 Thess. ii. 3—10?

[5] See his synodical epistles to the Bishops of Illyricum against the formula at Rimini, to the Bishops of the East against Apollinarius, his confession of the Catholic faith to Paullinus of Antioch. Concil. General. ii. 889—904. Theodoret, v. 10, 11. Coustant, Epist. Rom. Pontif. pp. 311, 473, 591. Tillemont, tom. viii. pp. 386—424.

[6] S. Jerome, Scr. Eccl. c. 103, "Damasus Romanæ urbis Episcopus, elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit." His extant Poems do not quite correspond to this eulogy: see them in Migne, Patrol. xiii. 375.

[7] See M. Amédée Thierry in his Vie de S. Jérome, pp. 1—218. Gibbon's description may be seen in his chap. xxv.

Digitized by Google

besieged, sacked, and pillaged by Alaric and the Goths in A.D. 410.

There was a brief lull before the storm which was now to break upon the East. Athanasius used this time of peace for literary work. At the request of the Monks of the West, he wrote his life of S. Anthony, which was translated[8] into Latin by Evagrius in the lifetime of its author. He now also, it is said by some,[9] composed his treatise on the Incarnation of God the Word, or, as it is entitled by early writers, "On the Trinity and the Incarnation;" and his Epistle to Rufinianus,[1] in which he lays down the true mode of dealing with those who had lapsed into heresy, in opposition to the rigour of the Luciferians on the one side, and the laxity of their opponents on the other.

The peace of Athanasius was disturbed for a short time by the order of Valens in A.D. 365 for the expulsion of all Bishops who had been ejected by Constantius. He narrowly escaped with his life, and retired for a fifth time from Alexandria, and took refuge for four months, it is said, in his father's tomb[2] —probably a capacious vaulted chamber, or suite of vaulted chambers, hewn in the rock. But Valens himself soon changed his policy with regard to Athanasius, and invited him to return, whether for fear of Valentinian his brother, who maintained the faith of Nicæa, or from alarm of a riot at Alexandria, where the Bishop was beloved by the people. Athanasius

[8] On which, see vol. i. pp. 431—434 of the present work, and Athan. ed. Bened. 626—693.

[9] Athan. pp. 696—711. Its genuineness as a whole is doubted by others. Cp. Canon Bright in Wace's Dict. i. p. 200.

[1] Ibid. 767.

[2] Socr. iv. 13. Sozom. vi. 12.

Digitized by Google

was brought back in triumph to his Church on Feb. 1, A.D. 366. The Emperor, himself a zealous partisan of Arianism, and a violent persecutor of the Church, made an exception in favour of Athanasius,[3] who for forty years had been the principal champion of the faith, and the special object of the malice of its Arian enemies.

In the spring of A.D. 367, Athanasius put forth a [4]Festal Letter,[5] in which he says, "Since we have spoken of the heretics as dead, and of ourselves as having the divine Scriptures for eternal life; and since some may be beguiled from their simplicity by the wiles of certain men, and may read other writings which are called *Apocryphal*,[6] and which ought not to be mingled with the Scripture which is inspired by God, it seems good to me to set down those Books which are known by us to be divine." He then specifies the Books of the Old Testament, twenty-two[7] in number, and the Books of the New Testament. These are precisely the same as in our own Canon of Scripture. He designates the Epistle to the Hebrews as an Epistle of St. Paul. "These," he adds, "are the fountains of salvation, that he who thirsteth may be filled with their oracles. In these

[3] Sozom. vi. 12.

[4] These "Festal Letters" were issued in accordance with a decree of the Nicene Council that the Bishop of Alexandria should put forth annually a pastoral encyclic to his own people and the Bishop of Rome, announcing the day on which Lent would begin and Easter would fall.

[5] Ed. Bened. p. 767.

[6] I.e. strictly so; *not ecclesiastical*, which *are read* in the Church, such as Tobit, Judith, &c. See Hooker, V. xx. 7, and above, p. 203.

[7] On this mode of reckoning the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, and on this Catalogue of Athanasius, see Bishop Cosin, Scholastical History of the Canon, lvi. vol. iii. p. 57, ed. Oxf. 1849, and Dr. Westcott on the Canon, p. 520; and see above, pp. 200—205.

Digitized by Google

alone is the doctrine of piety preached; let no one add to them, or take anything from them."

The Scriptural Canon of Athanasius corresponds with that of the Council of Laodicea (Canon 60),[8] with the exception of the Apocalypse, which Athanasius specifies as a work of St. John, but which is not mentioned by the Council of Laodicea. He then adds that there is a third class of books,[9] not "indeed received into the Canon, but which our Fathers have decreed should be read by those who desire to be instructed in the words of piety. Such are the Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, the 'doctrine,' as they call it, 'of the Apostles,' and the Shepherd" (of Hermas).[1]

This statement of Athanasius on the "Canon of Holy Scripture" is very important, coming as it does from one who had been about forty years a Bishop of the Church, and was in communion with all the faithful in the East and West. It may be said that it represents the judgment of the Church Catholic in the fourth century on the question, "What Books are to be received as Canonical, i. e. as Divinely-inspired Scripture?" And it justifies the course taken by the Church of England in this fundamental matter, in opposition to the Church of Rome, which in the fourth Session of the Council of Trent, on the 8th of April, 1546, affirmed that such books as Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees I. and II. are to be

[8] See above, pp. 200—202.

[9] Which *we* call *Apocryphal*, but which would be more correctly termed *Ecclesiastical*, as read in *the Church* "for example of life and instruction of manners." Art. VI. of the Church of England; above, p. 203.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 85. Athanasius, in his work "de Decretis Nicænæ Synodi," says that the "Shepherd" is not "in the Canon," § 18, p. 176.

Digitized by Google

received as Canonical[2] (i. e. as *equally inspired* with those of Moses and the Prophets, which our Lord received as such). Thus the Church of Rome does what Athanasius forbade, when he said, "Let no man add to these Canonical Books, or take anything from them."

About this time (A.D. 370) Athanasius wrote also his Epistle to Epictetus, Bishop of Corinth,[3] in which he states that the Councils of Gaul and Spain and Rome had condemned the Arians, and had confirmed the faith of Nicæa. He contends also against the error of those who said that the Body of Christ was Consubstantial with the Word; and also refutes the opposite heresy which affirms that Jesus Christ was a Man adopted to be the Son of God, and that the Word was a different Person from Christ Who suffered. He affirms that Christ is perfect Man in body, soul, and spirit, and that the Eternal Word took our nature in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and joined it for ever in His Person to the Nature of God. Thus by anticipation Athanasius refuted Nestorianism, as well as condemned Apollinarianism.

He concludes this Epistle with words of modesty and humility, praying for indulgence and correction.

He wrote also at the same time his two books[4] which are now entitled "Books against Apollinarius." But though Athanasius refutes his errors, yet, in charitable consideration for his merits, he never mentions him by name.

In another act of charitable forbearance, he tolerated

[2] Conc. Trid. Sess. iv., "Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis." In this decree the Church of Rome says that "whoever does not receive these books as Canonical—and as they are read in the old Vulgate Latin version—let him be anathema."

[3] Ed. Bened. p. 720.

[4] Pp. 736, 750.

Digitized by Google

the ordination of Siderius,[5] who under exceptional circumstances had been consecrated by a single Bishop, instead of by three at least, as prescribed by the Council of Nicæa, and without the consent of his Metropolitan.[6]

Another specimen of his conciliatory spirit and earnest desire for peace may be described in the words of Gregory Nazianzen,[7] when he says that he brought the Easterns to an admission of the orthodoxy of the Westerns, using the word *persona* in their doctrine concerning the Trinity; and that he also brought the Latins to acknowledge the soundness of the Greek term *hypostasis* for what they designated by πρόσωπον or *Person*. "He listened patiently (says Gregory) to both parties, and having examined the signification in which they used those terms respectively, and having found that both were orthodox, he conceded to them their words, and thus joined them together in deed. He also acknowledged that while it was right to speak of one *hypostasis* as designating the one *substance* of the Godhead in the three *Persons* of the *Blessed Trinity*,[8] yet it was also not incorrect to speak of *three hypostases*, it being understood that the term *hypostasis* was then used in the sense of *Person*."[9]

The last important public act of Athanasius was to summon a Synod at Alexandria, in which he showed that he combined energy with mildness; and that

[5] Synesius, Epist. 97. Vit. Athanas. p. lxxxviii. ed. Bened.

[6] Canon. Nicæn. 4. This act of Athanasius is interesting in reference to a recent Consecration among the "Old Catholics" by a single Bishop.

[7] Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. § 35.

[8] See De Decretis, § 27; ad Afros, § 48.

[9] See Athan. Expos. Fidei, § 2; In illud "Omnia mihi tradita sunt," § 6; Tomus ad Antioch. § 6, where the two senses are specified and approved.

Digitized by Google

while he was fervent in charity for the erring, he was uncompromising in the maintenance of the Faith against error.

In the name of that Synod, held probably in A.D. 367, and consisting of ninety Bishops from Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, he wrote an Epistle to the African Bishops, whose principal see was at Carthage. This letter may be regarded as his farewell exhortation to the Church to hold fast the true faith as set forth in the Council of Nicæa, and to be on her guard against all heretical attempts to tamper with it.

He wrote a similar letter to Pope Damasus, in which, while he thanked him for his defence of the truth, he expostulated with him for not having condemned Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, the Arian heresiarch, in the Synod recently held at Rome. This remonstrance of Athanasius seems to have been effectual; in another Synod at Rome, Damasus and his suffragans adopted part of the Epistle of Athanasius, and condemned and deposed Auxentius.[1]

As a specimen of the courageous zeal of Athanasius at this time for the maintenance of moral purity and Church discipline, as well as for soundness of doctrine, may be mentioned his excommunication of the Governor of Libya, a man of profligate life. He communicated this act by letters to other Churches, and among them to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where Basil had lately been raised to the Episcopate.

The Epistles, six in number, which Athanasius received from S. Basil,[2] express the sentiments entertained concerning Athanasius by one who after

[1] Concil. General. ii. pp. 888—893.

[2] Basil, Epist. 61, 66, 67, 69, 80, 82, ed. Bened. Paris, 173. Basil was consecrated A.D. 370.

Digitized by Google

him became one of the greatest Champions of the faith in Christendom.

In one of his Epistles to Athanasius,[3] Basil says that "the only remedy in the present distress" (that is, when Valens was persecuting the Church) "was in the union of the West with the East; and that perhaps the Emperor would pay regard to the authority of the multitude, if the people were of one mind. But who has more power to effect this than thy prudence? Who more sagacious in perceiving what is needed? Who more practical in executing it? Who more sympathetic in the afflictions of the brethren? Who more venerable in the eyes of the West? Bequeath a monument worthy of thy life and conversation, O most esteemed Father, and be a Samuel to the Churches."

Basil exhorts him also to take under his care the Church of Antioch, distracted by heresy and schism, which he alone can heal. "The opinion which I had of thy excellence," he says,[4] "is confirmed and increased by time. Others are content with caring for the parts of the Church entrusted to their charge. Thou carest for the whole, as much as for thine own portion of it. Thou dost not omit occasions for deliberating, admonishing, writing letters, and sending envoys bearing the best counsels. When therefore we desire any help, we begin with resorting to thy perfection as the summit of all things,[5] and by using thee as our counsellor and guide."

Again,[6] "The more the disorders of the Church

[3] Epist. 66.

[4] Epist. 67.

[5] In S. Basil's eyes the See of Alexandria, when filled by Athanasius, held a higher place in this respect than the See of Rome.

[6] Epist. 80.

Digitized by Google

multiply, the more all men turn to thee, deeming thy protection to be the only comfort left us in our present distress." And,[7] "When we look at our own difficulties, we are driven to despair; but when we turn our eyes to thee, and reflect that thou art left by the Lord to be the physician of our maladies, then we draw upward our minds from despondency, and emerge into hope. For what other person is fit to be our pilot in the storm, but he who from his childhood has contended in conflicts for the faith? Since therefore all our welfare as to the faith depends on communion and unity among those who agree therein, we confidently appeal to thee, and exhort thy long-suffering to send to us all an Epistle advising us what is to be done. It is the common desire that in all our conferences we should begin with thee."

In listening to these words of S. Basil, speaking in the name of the Church concerning Athanasius, we may well dispense with any other eulogy of him. The Epitaph of S. Athanasius is, as it were, written by S. Basil. He fell asleep in peace at Alexandria, May 2, A.D. 373. His funeral oration, if we may so speak, was pronounced at Constantinople seven years subsequently by Basil's friend, Gregory Nazianzen, afterwards Bishop of that see.[8]

It was in some respects a providential thing, that the storm of persecution under the Arian Emperor Valens was raging at its height when Athanasius "the Great" was taken to his rest.[9] For nearly forty-seven years the true Faith had been almost identified with his name. It was mixed up with personal accu-

[7] Epist. 82.

[8] See Greg. Nazian. Orat. xxi., and below, chap. ix.

[9] Theodoret, iv. 17. Sozom. vi. 19.

Digitized by Google

sations against him. The alleged murder of Arsenius, the broken chalice of Ischyras—these and other matters in which his honour was concerned, were debated with as much eagerness as the Homoousion itself. At the beginning of the year 373, Athanasius was left almost alone amongst the earlier champions of the faith. Hosius of Corduba had passed away. Julius was dead. Liberius of Rome was no more. Hilary of Poictiers, Eusebius of Vercellæ, had fallen asleep in the Lord. Hilary had instructed the heroic soldier, afterwards Bishop of Tours,[1] S. Martin. Athanasius still survived. It might seem as if the battle was to be fought by him alone, and for him alone. It was well that the Church should learn that her work upon earth is not to contend for any man, however great and holy. The battle was not to be fought for Athanasius, but for God. Men disappear; the Faith remains. The Church is built upon the Rock, Which is Christ. When an Athanasius dies, God raises up others in his room. Basil, who was consecrated at Cæsarea three years before the death of Athanasius; Basil's friend, Gregory Nazianzen, Bishop of Constantinople; Basil's brother, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa; all these in the East, and Ambrose in the West, consecrated Bishop of Milan the year after the death of Athanasius, followed after him, treading in his footsteps. Age after age, century after century, passes away; but the Light of Divine Truth survives and shines; and (as in the bright λαμπαδηφορία or Torch-race of old) one runner succeeds another, bearing that same light of Truth; saints succeed saints in the course, and hand on the

[1] Probably in A.D. 367.

Digitized by Google

light in an unbroken chain of succession, even to the end of time,

"Et, quasi cursores, Vitaï lampada tradunt;"[2]

and so the race will continue to be run, till at length the Light of the Faith will melt into the Vision of God.

[2] Lucret. ii. 78.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII.

From the Accession of the Emperor Valens, and the Ordination of S. Basil, A.D. 364, *to the Death of Valens, Aug.* 9, 378, *and the Death of S. Basil, Jan.* 1, 379.

THE last nine years of the life of Athanasius (with one or two brief intervals), from the spring of A.D 364 to that of A.D. 373, were to him, as we have seen, comparatively a time of peace and repose. We must, therefore, revert to the year A.D. 364 for the history of the more active conflicts and patient sufferings of the Church.

The year 364 was made memorable by two events which had a powerful influence on each other, and on the fortunes of the Church, especially in the East; one was the elevation of Valens to the dignity of Augustus on the 28th of March in that year; the other was the Ordination of Basil of Cæsarea to the priesthood in the same year.[1]

After that time, for fourteen years, Valens, the

[1] This is the date assigned by the learned Benedictine Editor of his works, Maran, who has done for S. Basil what his brother Benedictine, Montfaucon, did for Athanasius. The Life of S. Basil (written after Tillemont) by Maran, which fills 151 of the pages in the third volume in the Paris edition, 1730, is an invaluable storehouse for the history of S. Basil and his times. References to more modern works may be seen in the valuable article on Basil by Precentor Venables in Professor Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. i. pp. 282—297.

Digitized by Google

Emperor of the East, and S. Basil—first as Priest, and next as Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia—held the principal places in the Church. Its history during that time converges towards them as to two centres —the one secular, the other spiritual.

It may also be remarked that as the course of active energy both of Valens and Basil commenced at the same time, so it was continued side by side contemporaneously; and there was also a chronological coincidence between the end as well as the beginning of both. Valens was killed at Adrianople on the 9th of August, 378; Basil died at Cæsarea less than six months afterwards, on January 1, A.D. 379.

The age of both was nearly the same at their deaths—namely, fifty years.

The persecution of the Church under Valens must be carefully distinguished as to its character from that which the Catholics had to endure under Constantius. Constantius never expressed any direct intention of undoing his father's work at Nicæa. He would have disclaimed the name of Arian. He wished to be thought a theologian, and was fond of displaying his eloquence and ingenuity, especially in dogmatic discussions; and therefore his reign was distinguished by the summoning of Synods, and by a continuous succession of Creeds. Much also of his activity in persecution may be ascribed to personal jealousy of Atha nasius.

But Valens was a very different person. As described by Marcellinus,[2] he was not without some virtues, such as "firm attachment to friends, strict in the application of civil and military discipline, an

[2] Ammian. Marcellin. xxxi. 14.

Digitized by Google

equitable Guardian of the Provinces, liberal and generous. On the other hand, he was immoderately covetous, impatient of toil, of a stolid intellect, without education either in liberal studies or in the art of war; prone to cruelty, and, though he professed to act according to law, yet he allowed nothing to be done in opposition to his own passions; injurious and wrathful, listening eagerly to all accusations; dawdling and lazy.[3] This," adds Marcellinus, "is the testimony of one who was his contemporary (namely, the historian himself), and knew him well." He was also superstitious, of which Ammianus gives some specimens, and of which more will be said hereafter. Valens did not imitate Constantius in summoning Councils, or in framing Creeds. He did not war against the Church by rhetoric or dogmatism. He was resolved to destroy the faith of Nicæa, and to establish Arianism, and nothing but Arianism, by brute force. His imperial rule was a reign of terror for the Church.

If we investigate the causes which produced that particular form of persecution which raged under Valens, and inquire into the reasons for which so savage a war was allowed by the Divine Head of the Church to be waged against the faith, and what were the purposes which it served, we may probably arrive at the solution of the problem.

The numerous attempts at compromises under Constantius had failed. Their failure had been of great use, as showing that there was no middle point between Homoousianism and pure Arianism. The ground was now cleared between these two parties, and they were brought into direct antagonism and collision. Pure Arianism, so to speak, was put on its

[3] Aurelius Victor, Epist. 46, says he was also cowardly—"sanè timidus."

Digitized by Google

mettle. It saw a new danger arising to what it deemed the truth, in the prominence now being given to the doctrine of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, no less than to that of the Son, which it had strenuously impugned. It was alarmed by this fresh peril. No doubt some in its ranks conscientiously thought that they were contending for the divine Unity against Tritheism. They had seen Polytheism recently revived under Julian, and they feared that the Church might relapse into it, unless they put forth their strength. Such was the struggle in which the Powers of darkness engaged against the Church under Valens.

It pleased God for the wisest reasons to permit that terrible conflict. We shall see in the sequel that pure Arianism failed under Valens, though backed by the imperial power, just as Semi-Arian compromises had failed under Constantius, and Polytheism had failed under Julian. Homoousianism triumphed over all. The doctrine of the Holy, Blessed, and Undivided Trinity was proved not to be Tritheism on the one side, nor Sabellianism on the other. And thus the peace-policy under Constantine, admitting Arius to Communion, and the three different persecutions of the Church, under Constantius, Julian, and Valens, prepared the way for the complete triumph of the true Faith at the Council of Constantinople under Theodosius, and for its firm establishment at that Council for now fifteen hundred years.

The beginning of the persecution under Valens has been assigned by some to the year 367, the time when he was about to march against the Goths, who had passed the Danube, and were ravaging Thrace, and when he received baptism at the hands of Eudoxius, the Arian Bishop of Constantinople, who, it is said,

Digitized by Google

being aided by the imperial consort, Albia Dominica, engaged Valens, by a pledge at his baptism, to propagate Arianism, and to persecute the Church.[4] The persecution was indeed fiercer after that time, but it had already broken out. In A.D. 365 Valens had wreaked his wrath on the Bishops at the Council of Lampsacus, and had waged war against the Semi-Arians,[5] and Novatians, as well as against the Catholics, and had suppressed the assembly at Tarsus, because it was opposed to Arianism.

In A.D. 370, Eudoxius, Bishop of Constantinople, died. Demophilus, the Arian Bishop of Berœa in Thrace, who had tempted Liberius to his fall, was placed by the Emperor and the Arians in his room; and thus the Arian heresy was continued at Constantinople, where it had been dominant almost without interruption for thirty years. The Catholics chose Evagrius, who was banished, and died in exile; and a general persecution began.[6]

The Emperor was then at Nicomedia. A deputation of eighty presbyters came to him there, and presented a petition for mercy and redress. Valens was incensed by this remonstrance, but dissembled his resentment till he had given order to the Prefect Modestus (of whom we shall hear more in the history of S. Basil) to apprehend them and put them to death; and lest the murder of so many venerable persons might produce a riot in the city, they were embarked in a ship under the pretence of their being only conveyed away into banishment; but at the same time orders were given that when they were out at sea, and the ship was in full sail, it should be

[4] Theodoret iv. 12, 13. Sozom. vi. 8—10.
[5] Socr. iv. 2, 5, 6, 9. Sozom. vi. 12. [6] Socr. iv. 15. Sozom. vi. 14.

Digitized by Google

set on fire; which was done by the mariners, who escaped by a boat; and the ship was carried on by an east wind, till it was consumed by the fire with the eighty presbyters on board, who were burnt in it.[7] Not long afterwards Valens came to Antioch, and there he destroyed many Catholics by drowning them in the river Orontes.[8]

From Bithynia, Valens proceeded to Galatia, where he continued the work of persecution; and he hoped to be equally successful in Cappadocia, which was distracted by the feuds consequent on the election of S. Basil to the Metropolitan See of his native place, Cæsarea, in A.D. 370.

The Ecclesiastical career of S. Basil had commenced six years earlier, namely, in the year 364, when he was ordained to the priesthood—the first year of the reign of Valens. From that time he was regarded as one of the most powerful champions of the faith, and one of the most formidable antagonists to Arianism; he was, therefore, already marked out as a special object of persecution.

Basil was born probably in A.D. 329, of noble and devout Christian parents. His father, Basil, was a teacher of rhetoric, and by his wife Emmelia had ten children, three of whom—Basil the eldest, the third, Gregory, the tenth, Peter—became Bishops of the Church: Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Peter of Sebaste. Basil had also an uncle Gregory, who was a Bishop in Cappadocia. Macrina, Basil's grandmother, who had been a hearer of Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, the celebrated scholar of Origen,[9] was a Lois to Basil, as his

[7] Socr. iv. 16. Sozom. vi. 14. [8] Socr. iv. 17.

[9] See above, vol. i. 274, 283.

Digitized by Google

mother Emmelia was an Eunice; and thus in his childhood he imbibed a love for the faith. His early education was, it would seem, at some place in Pontus where his father taught rhetoric; thence he passed to Cæsarea, his native place, thence to Constantinople, and thence to Athens. There his friendship was strengthened with Gregory of Nazianzus, who had known Basil at Cæsarea; there also he was a fellow-student with Julian, the future Emperor. His fame for intellectual ability and attainments, especially in rhetoric, philosophy, and literature, was not greater than his reputation for sanctity of life. He left Athens A.D. 355 or 356, and returned to his native city Cæsarea, where he was enthusiastically received, and invited to become a teacher of eloquence. His sister Macrina warned him against temptations to vain-glory, and pointed out to him the perils he was incurring from popular applause of his eloquence. He became a reader in the Church under the Bishop Dianius, and being deeply affected by the sudden death of his next brother Naucratius, in his twenty-second year, about A.D. 357, he resolved to retire from Cæsarea for a time; he went into Egypt, and visited the monasteries there, and resolved to imitate that form of monastic life which combined religious meditation, worship, and study, with the exercise of Christian charities, and which was called the *cœnobitic* life, as distinguished from that of the *anchorite* or *hermit*, and also from that of those who were termed *migades* or *ascetics*, who were monks roving from place to place, and *mingling* with the world.

His friend, Gregory Nazianzen, thus speaks on this topic:[1] "Since the eremitical life and the social

[1] Orat. xliii. p. 817.

Digitized by Google

are very different from, and contrary to, one another; and since neither life has unmixed good or evil, the former being more tranquil and favourable to spiritual communion with God, and on this account liable to produce spiritual pride (inasmuch as social virtues are not exercised thereby, and there is no place for comparison of man with man), and the other life is more practical and useful, but less free from turmoil; therefore Basil tempered and blended both lives together" (by the erection of his Cœnobia), "in order that contemplation might not be without society, nor action be without contemplation, but that, like land and sea, they might contribute their benefits mutually to each other, and be joined together in glorifying God."

In a word, S. Basil instituted the *Collegiate* life in Asia Minor. He established a *Cœnobium* or *College* in a picturesque retreat in his own paternal estate not far from Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus.[2] Many flocked to him there. The Cœnobia were multiplied, and became a small University.[3] The study of the Scriptures, and of Theology generally, frequent religious services, with singing of Psalms and Hymns, frugal fare, hard living, manual labour, these were the characteristics of their life; and these *Cœnobia* or Colleges were also schools of the young, and centres of missionary work to the neighbouring country, which was evangelized by them.[4]

[2] See Greg. Naz. Epist. 8 and 9, who visited Basil there.

[3] Sozom. vi. 17.

[4] He was visited there by his friend and former fellow-collegian at Athens, Gregory Nazianzen, his senior by about four years; and there, among other labours in common, they produced what is called he *Philocalia*, or Anthology of choice extracts, culled from the works of their favourite author, Origen (see above, vol. i. p. 274). And he also worked with Basil in framing his ascetic rules for the government of

Digitized by Google

It has been supposed by some that about this time (A.D. 362) Basil received a friendly letter from the Emperor Julian, whom he had known at Athens. But this is doubtful.[5]

Basil's friend, Gregory Nazianzen, was ordained to the Priesthood, December 25, A.D. 362, in order to assist his father, Bishop of Nazianzus; and Basil himself was invited to return to Cæsarea by Dianius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who, like Gregory's father, was among the Bishops who had been entrapped into signing the formula of Rimini, but who afterwards rued what they had done.

About this time Basil wrote his books against Eunomius the Arian. After the death of Dianius, Eusebius, a civil magistrate of exemplary character, who had not been baptized, was, in consequence of a conflict of parties, suddenly elevated to the Episcopal See of Cæsarea. In the autumn of A.D. 364, when Arianism was raising its head under Valens, Basil was ordained to the Priesthood; and from that time to his death on January 1, 379, he occupied the principal place in maintaining the faith, and in contending against heresy in the East. He became the counsellor and commissary of his Bishop, Eusebius, who, having enlisted him in his service, was afterwards tempted to jealousy by the merits and fame of his auxiliary. Parties were formed in the Church of

monastic bodies, and religious societies of women. See Basilii Opera, ii. 526—582. Some of these are of doubtful origin; see *ibid.* p. 533.

[5] See Maran, Vita Basil. p. lx., and Canon Wordsworth's article on Julian in Wace's Dictionary. The Basil, to whom Julian's 12th letter is addressed, had been at Court, which Basil of Cæsarea never was. The other letter (Epist. 75) is clearly spurious (ibid. p. lxiii). These letters may be seen in Basilii Opera, iii. 122, 123.

Digitized by Google

Cæsarea; and in order to prevent a schism Basil retired quietly to his Cœnobium in Pontus.

The persecution which had broken out under Valens, and was menacing Cæsarea, had the good effect of healing the difference between the Bishop Eusebius and his presbyter Basil, under the kindly influence and sympathetic mediation of Basil's friend, Gregory Nazianzen.

The invitation given to Basil by Eusebius, and Basil's prompt return to Cæsarea to meet the coming danger, were honourable to both. The services of the Bishop's Commissary became more valuable than before, and were recognized by him with ungrudging gratitude. Basil took a leading part in the endeavour, already described,[6] to enlist the sympathies of the Church of Rome, and of the Western Church generally, in an endeavour to unite the Semi-Arians with the orthodox, and to join together the West with the East in a strenuous effort to check Arianism, and to maintain the faith of Nicæa.

For a short time the storm of persecution was lulled by the rebellion of Procopius against Valens, from the summer of A.D. 365 to that of A.D. 366. This period of respite was a time of religious activity to Basil. To quote the words of his friend Gregory,[7] "He was engaged in the care of the Poor, of Strangers, of Virgins, in giving Laws orally, and in writing to Monasteries, and in the ordering of public Prayers[8]

[6] See above, pp. 224, 225.

[7] Greg. Naz. Orat. xx.

[8] The Liturgy of S. Basil, which (with some additions) is still used on certain days in the Eastern Church, belongs to that date. There are three revisions of that Liturgy—the Greek, the Armenian, and the Coptic. The Greek is the most reliable. The length of the Liturgy now

Digitized by Google

and the devout worship of the sanctuary; indeed, in whatever a man of God, working with God, could be profitable to the people." Basil was unwearied in his labours of charity. He bestowed the greatest part of his private property in good works.[9] Especially

known as S. Basil's is twice that of earlier Liturgies, so far as the use of the Clergy is concerned, but not so for the People. The daily office for the people began at daybreak, and consisted of confession of sins, antiphonal Psalmody, reading the Scripture. After it was a pause for meditation and confession to God in silence.

Then followed a longer form for the use of the Clergy and religious orders. S. Basil, Epist. 207, p. 310. The Liturgy, so called, of S. Basil, is given by the Benedictine Editors in vol. ii. of Basil's works in the Alexandrine and Coptic forms (pp. 674—696). Cp. Bingham, xiii. 5, who observes that the Liturgy of St. James being considered too long, Basil framed a shorter Liturgy. He examines the question, "Why no ancient Liturgy has been preserved in its original form?"

The form in which Basil's Liturgy is now used in the Eastern Church, and which "is modified from that of St. James as the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom is from that of S. Basil," has been printed by Dr. J. M. Neale (Lond. 1858) from the Venice Edition of 1840. It is used in the Eastern Church on all Sundays in Lent, except Palm Sunday; on Maundy Thursday, Easter Even, the Vigils of Christmas, the Epiphany, and the Festival of S. Basil, January 1. For its history see Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, i. 45—72; Neale's Eastern Church, i. 317, 325, ii. ch. vi.; Bunsen, Hippolytus, vol. iv., Analecta Antenicæna, iii. p. 201; Archdeacon Cheetham on Liturgies, p. 1022 of his Dictionary of Christian Antiq. More will be said on it below, pp. 278—282.

There is an interesting passage in Basil's book, De Spiritu Sancto (chap. xxvii. n. 26), "The Words of Invocation at the Consecration (ἀνάδειξις) of the Bread of Thanksgiving and the Cup of Blessing, what sacred author has left to us in writing?" On the Eucharistic sense of the word ἀνάδειξις, see Suicer. Lex. in voce, p. 255. It is equivalent to the Latin "confectio corporis et sanguinis." The words in the Liturgy of Basil (Opp. ii. 679) are, ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς δούλους σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενά σου δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι ἅγια ἁγίων, "and to make this bread to become the Holy Body of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ for the remission of sins and for everlasting life to those who receive it, and this Cup to become the precious Blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

[9] Greg. Nyssen. in Eunomium, lib. i. p. 307.

Digitized by Google

was he unsparing in his liberality and personal assiduity in the time of the terrible dearth and drought which afflicted Cæsarea in A.D. 368, when he delivered his celebrated homily on that calamity.[1]

Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, died in 370. Cæsarea was the Metropolitan See of Cappadocia, and the jurisdiction of that see included not only Cappadocia, but extended to Pontus, and even to Armenia.[2] The Province had been under the Episcopal rule of Dianius for twenty years, who had wavered in the faith, and for eight more under that of his successor Eusebius, who had little theological learning.

Basil's merits were in some respects a hindrance to him. His orthodoxy was too definite, and his discipline too rigid, in the opinion of many of the comprovincial Bishops, in whose hands the appointment to the vacant Archbishopric was vested. His election to it was sharply contested. It seems to have been decided in his favour by a single vote, that of one of the suffragans, Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus, father of Basil's friend. The veteran Bishop not merely wrote letters to the other comprovincial Bishops in his favour, but, though enfeebled by old age and infirmity, and, as his son says, like "a corpse carried on a bier," went in person from Nazianzus to Cæsarea, and so carried the election. In him it was seen, as his son expresses it, that in a good cause "fatigue gives health, zeal raises the dead to life, and old age leaps with alacrity, being anointed by the Holy Ghost."[3]

[1] Basil, tom. ii. pp. 62—72.

[2] Basil, Epist. 76, 99, 120—122. Palmer's Origines, p. 45.

[3] Greg. Naz. Orat. xliii. p. 800. Cf. the similar words of Gregory

Digitized by Google

By promoting the election of Basil, the great champion of the Faith, to the throne of Cæsarea, Gregory nobly retrieved his subscription to the heretical form of Rimini.

It may be convenient here for the reader to remember what the territorial arrangements for the exercise of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction were at this time.

Providentially the civil divisions of the Empire had been prepared and preadjusted for those of the Church.

The Empire had been divided into thirteen large districts called *Dioceses*. This word was adopted by the Church, and was applied Ecclesiastically in the fourth century to a large territorial area conterminous with the civil Diocese.

The thirteen *Dioceses* of the Empire were subdivided into about a hundred and eighteen *Provinces* (ἐπαρχίαι); and this word was also adopted by the Church in a similar manner.

These Provinces were again subdivided into smaller districts called παροικίαι (*paræciæ*); and this word was also adopted by the Church, and was applied to an ecclesiastical district, administered by a Bishop, which is *now* called a *Diocese*, but is carefully to be distin-

his son on the same subject, Orat. xviii. p. 357, "Because it was requisite that Basil's ordination should be canonical, and one Bishop was lacking to the number of those who were to elect him, he, although broken by old age and sickness, tears himself from his couch, and sets forth youthfully on his journey to the city; thinking that he would only arrive there as a corpse on a bier, but would so testify his zeal: but wonderful to say, he gains vigour by toil, he gets youth by alacrity, he manages the matter, he places himself as a soldier by Basil's side, and places him on his Episcopal throne, and returns home not on a bier, but as it were on a sacred Ark."

Digitized by Google

guished from the *Diocesis* of the fourth century, which was of far greater extent.

The head of the ancient ecclesiastical *Diocesis* of the fourth century was an *Exarch*, or *Archbishop*, and sometimes called a *Patriarch.*

Such a personage was S. Basil, Exarch of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Primate of the Provinces of Pontus, Paphlagonia, and Armenia.[4]

The head of the *Eparchia* or Province was designated a *Metropolitan.* The *Bishop* was subordinate—not in order, but in jurisdiction—to the Metropolitan of the Province, and the Metropolitan was subordinate in jurisdiction to the Patriarch; and there was a graduated scale of Appeals upward from the Bishop to the Metropolitan, and from him to the Patriarch.[5]

But to return.

Basil was consecrated in the autumn of A.D. 370. A contested election to an Episcopal See raises often a tempest of troubles. Much more would this be the

[4] Basil's "*Diocesis*" (the centre of which was Cæsarea) contained eleven *Provinces* (ἐπαρχίαι), as follows :—

Province.	*Metropolis.*
Galatia	Ancyra.
Bithynia	Nicomedia.
Cappadocia 1ma	Cæsarea.
Cappadocia 2nda	Tyana.
Honorias	Claudiopolis.
Paphlagonia	Gangra.
Pontus Polemoniacus	Neo-Cæsarea.
Helenopontus	Amasea.
Armenia 1ma	Sebaste.
Armenia 2nda	Melitene.
Galatia Salutaris	Pessinus.

See Bingham, ix. c. 1 and c. 3.

[5] For the authorities on this subject, see Bingham, book ix. c. 1 and c. 2; Gieseler, i. § 93, note 4; Theophilus Anglicanus, part i. ch. xii.

Digitized by Google

case with a contested election to the high position of Archbishop, or rather, as he was called, *Exarch*, of such an extensive group of provinces as that of Cæsarea, containing so many Suffragan Bishops. His own uncle, Gregory, one of his suffragans, sided with his opponents. Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, who at first had sent delegates to congratulate him,[6] turned round against him, and never gave him a moment's rest.[7] Eustathius had been a scholar of Arius,[8] but being condemned by Hermogenes, Bishop of Cæsarea, he recanted, and was ordained by him; he afterwards allied himself with Eusebius of Nicomedia, and then joined himself openly to the Arians. However, he contrived to recommend himself to Pope Liberius at Rome, and was restored in the Synod of Tyana. He made a show of sanctity and asceticism, and zeal for the monastic life, and was kindly received by Basil, on his subscription to the Creed of Nicæa, A.D. 373.[9] Then he started back like a broken bow, and, in order to gratify the Arians, wrote scurrilous letters against Basil,[1] to which, after a three years' silence, Basil replied[2] in an Apologia which may be compared to those of Athanasius.

Basil's former connexion with Eustathius, whose disciples became notorious for their wild extravagances, was however made one of the principal charges against him.

It is probable that the disciplinarian Council of

[6] Basil, Epist. 223; cp. 105, 109.

[7] On the history of Eustathius and his relations with Basil, see Maran, vit. Basil. p. cxxv.

[8] Basil, Epist. 249, 263.

[9] Epist. 125.

[1] Epist. 130.

[2] Epist. 126, 129, 223.

Digitized by Google

Gangra[3] in Paphlagonia[4] was held about that time.

That Council of Gangra was summoned for the purpose of condemning the doctrines and practices of Eustathius,[5] and of his followers, who were depraving the Church by heresy, and distracting it by schism.

It was probably held in a late period of the Episcopate of Basil,[6] when Eustathius had broken away from him, and was in open hostility to him and to the Nicene Faith. It was presided over by Eusebius, who may perhaps have been the same as Basil's staunch friend,[7] the celebrated Bishop of Samosata, the capital of Commagene on the Euphrates, and Martyr. Eustathius ceased to be Bishop of Sebaste in A.D. 380, the year after S. Basil, and was succeeded in his see by Basil's brother Peter, a circumstance which seems to show the opinion of the electors on the differences between Eustathius and Basil.

The Council of Gangra condemned the Eustathians for their hyper-asceticism in the disparagement of Marriage, and in separating wives from husbands on the plea of zeal for continency; for detaching

[3] See the Canons in Concil. General. ii. 415; Mansi, ii. 1095; Concil. Bruns. 106; Maran, Vit. Basil. p. li.; and Beveridge, Synodic. i. 415, with the comments of Zonaras and Balsamon.

[4] The Synodical Letter is "to the fellow-Bishops of Armenia."

[5] *οἱ περὶ Εὐστάθιον* means Eustathius himself as well as his followers. Cp. Socr. ii. 43; Sozom. iv. 24.

[6] Mr. Ffoulkes (in Archdn. Cheetham's Dictionary), i. 709, places it as early as A.D. 358.

[7] This is the conjecture of the learned writer of the article in Professor Wace's Dictionary, ii. 371. Eusebius was alive in A.D. 379, when his name was subscribed to Decrees of the Council of Antioch. Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, i. pp. 777—791, leaves its date uncertain.

Digitized by Google

slaves from their masters, and children from their parents, on pretence of religion; for administering tonsure to women; for allowing women to wear the apparel of men; for the prohibition of certain meats; for their censorious condemnation of the ordinary clerical dress;[8] for refusing to communicate with those priests who cohabited with their wives; for making separate congregations, and for inducing men to leave their own Churches, and to communicate at home; for instituting fasts of their own, at variance with the fasts of the Church.[9]

"We make these decrees (says the Council) not because we shut out from the Church any who desire to be ascetics according to the Scriptures; but because we blame those who make asceticism a pretext for arrogance, and exalt themselves against simple men, and introduce innovations contrary to the Scriptures and Canons of the Church. We acknowledge Virginity to be a holy thing, when chosen for piety's sake; and we also honour chaste cohabitation in marriage. We commend plainness of dress, and we do not approve dissolute attire and demeanour. We reverence God's house, and the assemblies in it as holy and profitable, but we do not confine godliness to special buildings; and we praise excellence in good deeds to the brethren and to the poor. In a word, we pray that all things may be done in the Church as

[8] The Eustathians condemned *βήρους*, *birrhos*, which were short tippets with sleeves, covering the shoulders and arms (see Labbe, Concil. ii. p. 433, Canon 12, and Bingham, vi. 4. 19), over the tunic; those of the Clergy being of linen or cloth, those of Bishops being silk. The Eustathians censured these dresses as contrasted with the monastic *pallium*, or cloak, which they assumed.

[9] For a useful commentary on these decrees, see Hefele, Concilien, i. p. 779

Digitized by Google

they have been delivered to us by the Holy Scriptures and by the Apostolic traditions."

If we consider the relation of Gangra to Cæsarea, and the relation of Eustathius of Sebaste to Basil, we may perhaps be disposed to think that this Council of Gangra was under Basil's influence, and that it intended to remove from him the obloquy which, on account of his known prepossessions in favour of asceticism and monastic institutions, he was not unlikely to have incurred, by reason of his connexion with Eustathius.

It is remarkable that we have no record of any provincial or diocesan Synod held by Basil himself during the ten years of his Episcopate. This probably arose from the disjointed state of his Province at that time. The consequence was that he was constrained to exercise discipline by his own archiepiscopal authority.

The Episcopate of S. Basil has a peculiar interest in this respect, that he dealt with many questions of Church discipline as well as of doctrine. He did this specially in those three Epistles which are called "*Canonical*," and in which he determines questions of discipline according to the Canon of Law of the Eastern Church.[1]

One of the earliest exercises of Basil's archiepiscopal authority was seen in the prohibition of "Marriage with a deceased wife's sister." In a letter on this subject, he says,[2] "Our received usage is, according to the rule delivered to us by holy men, that if any one has contracted the illicit marriage of two sisters, such a connexion is not to be regarded as marriage,

[1] On these Canonical Epistles more will be said in pp. 259, 260.

[2] See Epist. 160 to Diodorus, and below, p. 262.

Digitized by Google

nor are the parties to be admitted to communion in the Church, before they are separated."[3]

On the important question of doctrine—the Godhead of the Holy Ghost—he affirmed, in an Epistle[4] written about the same time, that he adheres to the Creed of Nicæa; but that, on account of a heresy which had lately sprung up (that of the Macedonians or *Pneumatomachi*, or "fighters against the Spirit"), it was requisite that an Article should be *added to the Creed*, declaratory of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Thus he anticipated the action of the Council of Constantinople afterwards held in A.D. 381.

On account of the remissness of former Exarchs of Cæsarea, much laxity prevailed in its Provinces with regard to Ordination. Basil issued severe laws against Simoniacal practices in the collation of holy orders.[5] The numerous *Chorepiscopi*, or Country Bishops, of the Province,[6] had assumed to themselves the function of ordaining Priests and Deacons without the consent of the Metropolitans; and thus many unworthy persons had been admitted to the ministry, in order to escape military service, and for the sake of immunities from taxation. Whether all these Chorepiscopi had themselves received Episcopal consecration does not clearly appear. Basil applied vigorous measures for the correction of these abuses.[7]

In the year 371, Basil's brother Gregory was consecrated to the See of Nyssa in Cappadocia, and thus became one of Basil's Suffragans; and about this time his uncle Gregory, another of his Suffragans, who had been one of his opponents, was reconciled to him.

[3] Cp. Epist. 217, Canon 78. [4] Epist. 259. [5] Epist. 53.
[6] There were fifty Chorepiscopi in Basil's diocesis. See Bingham, ix. 3. 2. [7] Epist. 54.

Digitized by Google

Basil now turned his eyes from his own archiepiscopal charge to the affairs of the entire Eastern Church. The time had need of him. Persecution was raging against it. Heresy was rampant. The Church was torn by divisions. "The whole East (he says[8] in a letter to Damasus, Bishop of Rome), in all countries from Illyricum to Egypt, is swept by a storm. Arianism is dominant; the standard-bearers of the faith in every diocese have been ejected from their Churches through false accusations and wrong, and the management of affairs is delivered to others, who lead captive the souls of the simple."

He therefore appeals for help to the Bishop of Rome. "We had hoped," he adds, "for voluntary overtures from you; but as we have been disappointed in this expectation, we now conjure you by letter to come to our rescue with your counsel and aid, in this distress of our Churches."

In another letter[9] written at the same time, addressed to his "brethren the Bishops of the West," by whom some encouragement had been given in a reply to Athanasius (whom, as we have seen,[1] Basil had enlisted in the same cause), he says, "Our calamities are notorious, and the sound of them is gone out into all the world. The doctrines of our Fathers are scorned; Apostolic traditions are set at nought; novel human inventions are rife in our Churches; men are technologists, not theologians; worldly wisdom reigns supreme, and thrusts away the glorying of the Cross; the Shepherds are driven from the fold; grievous wolves are brought into it in their stead, and tear the flock of Christ. Houses of prayer

[8] In Epist. 70, written probably in 372.

[9] Epist. 90. [1] See above, pp. 224, 225.

Digitized by Google

are bereft of preachers; the deserts are full of mourners. If there is in you, therefore, any consolation of love, any fellowship of the Spirit, any bowels of mercies, bestir yourselves, and come to our aid. Rescue us from the storm. Let the good Word preached by our fathers be freely spoken, which overthrows the infamous heresy of Arius, and builds up the Church with sound doctrine, in which the Son is confessed to be consubstantial with the Father; and the Holy Ghost, together with them, is worshipped with equal honour; in order that through your prayers and co-operation the Lord may grant us grace to glory in the confession of the divine and life-giving Trinity."[3]

He also speaks[4] thus to the Bishops of Italy and Gaul: "Ye are disciples of the Lord. Therefore deem our afflictions to be your own. Mourn with us in our mourning, ye who love your brethren. The mouths of the pious are stopped; those of blasphemers against God are opened. Do not think merely of your own happy condition,[5] ye who are safely moored in a calm harbour, and are sheltered by God's grace from the hurricane; but stretch forth your hands to our Churches which are tempest-tossed, lest they suffer shipwreck of the faith. Weep for us. The One-begotten is blasphemed; the Holy Spirit is rejected, and is not allowed to complete the Holy Trinity, nor to be sharer of the Divine Nature."

Such were Basil's pathetic appeals to Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and to other Bishops of the West. He had been seconded by Athanasius at Alexandria

[2] Phil. ii. 1.

[3] See also Basil's letters to the same effect, Epist. 92 and 242.

[4] Epist. 243.

[5] Under Valentinian, the orthodox Emperor of the West.

Digitized by Google

almost with his dying breath.[6] And after his death Basil addressed many letters, and sent envoys to Rome[7] and the Western Bishops, and asked them to supplicate Valentinian, the Emperor of the West, to mediate on behalf of the Eastern Church with his brother Valens.

But no help came from the West. In A.D. 375 Basil was almost in despair. "No impression for good can be made on one" (meaning Pope Damasus[8]) "who is highly exalted and sits aloft, and is not able to hear the voice of those who speak the truth from the ground. What good can conference with such a man do to any of us who shrink from servile flattery?" And again in A.D. 376 (in a letter to his friend Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata) Basil says that their condition is like that of the Jews in their captivity. Orthodox Bishops were ejected, and heretics placed in their sees. His own brother Gregory was expelled from Nyssa, and a venal slave placed in his room. He mentions similar examples in Armenia and Syria. "And whither are we to turn? I send two envoys to Rome, Dorotheus and Sanctissimus, but what hope have we there? I bethink me of Diomed's words in Homer[9] (to Agamemnon), 'Would to heaven you had not prayed to him (Achilles); the man is proud.' Haughty tempers become haughtier when they are implored. If God has mercy on us, we need no other aid; but if He is angry with us, what kind of help

[6] See Basil, Epist. 69, 93, 133, 163.

[7] See Epist. 239, 242, 243, written in A.D. 376, "the thirteenth year of the persecution;" and Epist. 253, 263; Maran, Vit. Bas. pp. clx, clxv.

[8] Epist. 215.

[9] Iliad ix. 698. A specimen this of Basil's familiarity with classical authors, and of his manner of refreshing his mind and relieving the gravity of serious subjects with classical quotations.

Digitized by Google

can we receive from the Western superciliousness ?[1] They neither know the Truth, nor care to learn it."

Basil taxes Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, with haughtiness; and Jerome (once the Secretary and always the friend of Damasus) says of Basil[2] that "he marred his other gifts and graces by the single fault of pride." Perhaps Basil did not make sufficient allowance for the difficulties by which Damasus was surrounded, from the schism between him and his rival for the Pontificate, Ursinus, which was not yet healed,[3] and from the moral and spiritual depravity of his Clergy, which is portrayed by no one more graphically, nor denounced more vehemently, than by S. Jerome.[4] Their selfishness was not likely to be stirred by appeals from the East, however pathetic; and their callous hard-heartedness was soon afterwards punished by the scourge of the Gothic invasion, and the pillage of Rome.

The honour which might have been won by the Pontifical city passed from Rome to Milan. After the plaintive appeals of Basil and of the Easterns to the deaf ear of Damasus, we are cheered by Basil's loving words to Ambrose, raised from the Consular Magistracy of Liguria and Æmilia to the See of Milan, by the voice of the people, and by the influence

[1] Epist. 239. Literally "from the Western eyebrow"—*ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος;* See also Epist. 242, 243.

[2] S. Jerome, Chron. A.D. 380, "Basilius Cæsariensis Episcopus Cappadociæ clarus habetur—qui multa continentiæ et ingenii bona uno *superbiæ* malo perdidit."

[3] It was still rife in A.D. 378, and gave occasion to the Council of Rome in that year. Concil. General. ii. p. 1001.

[4] On the alleged pride of Basil, and on the character of the Roman Clergy, as depicted by Jerome, see the statements in Gibbon, ch. xxv. pp. 269—276, and S. Jérome par M. Thierry, Paris, 1867, pp. 4—24.

Digitized by Google

of the brother of Valens, Valentinian,[5] in the place of the Arian Bishop Auxentius, who had formerly been supported by that Emperor.

In an Epistle[6] written in A.D. 375, to Ambrose, from whom he had received a letter, Basil says, "Great and numberless are the blessings we enjoy from the Lord. One of the greatest is, that we, who are widely separated from each other by distance, can converse freely by letters. Inasmuch then as we have known thee, not from the outward form of thy person, but from the beauty of thy words, we have glorified our God, who in every age chooses those who are pleasing to Him; who enabled David, the shepherd, to become a king of His people; and who raised Amos from a goatherd to be a prophet inspired by the Holy Ghost; and who now has drawn from the royal city (Milan) one who had been entrusted with the rule of the whole nation; one who is of a lofty soul, and stands conspicuous in the eyes of the world, by the splendour of his family, the lustre of his life, the energy of his eloquence, and who has now been entrusted with the care of the folds of Christ's sheep; one who has cast away all worldly advantages, and counts them loss in order to win Christ, and has been commissioned to take into his hands the helm of the grand ship, famous for its faith in God—the Church of Christ. Therefore, O man of God, be thou strong and very courageous; be thou up and doing. Since thou hast not received the Gospel of Christ from men, nor been taught it; but the Lord Himself has translated thee from the judicial bench of this world to the chair of the holy Apostles, fight the good fight of faith, heal the sicknesses of the people. Wherever the disease of the Arian madness has infected any,

[5] Sozom. vi. 21.

[6] Epist. 197. Cp. Sozom. vi. 21.

Digitized by Google

renew the primitive footsteps of the fathers; and on the foundation of love to us, which thou hast already laid, raise a superstructure by the frequency of thy greetings; that so, though far removed in our earthly abodes, we may dwell together as neighbours in the Spirit of God."

Athanasius, when about to depart this life, greeted Basil on his ordination to the Episcopate; and now Basil, whose course was near its end when he wrote this letter, saluted Ambrose, the future champion of the true faith against Arianism in the West. The spirit of Athanasius survived in Basil, and it passed from Basil to Ambrose; and Basil found sympathy at Milan, which he had sought in vain at Rome.

Let us now revert to an earlier period in the history.

In A.D. 371, Basil was accused by some as denying the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, and as conniving at the Macedonian heresy by his reticence on that doctrine. He refuted this charge; and Athanasius had reproved its authors as guilty of rashness and wrong in daring to censure one whom he calls "his dearly beloved Basil, their Bishop, the servant of God."[7]

The charge against Basil as to the form of the Doxology sometimes used by him, was answered by himself.[8] Some persons had been perplexed because he had occasionally said, "Glory to the Father, *through* the Son, *in* the Holy Spirit." But he affirms that he used that form in no other sense than that which is expressed in the words, "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost."

[7] Palladius apud Maran. p. xcvii.

[8] Basil de Spiritu Sancto, cap. i.—vii. Cp. Hooker, V. xlii. 9, 10.

Digitized by Google

Cappadocia was divided into two parts by an order of the Emperor Valens in 371. Consequently a large part of it was severed ecclesiastically,[9] as well as civilly, from Cæsarea, to the great prejudice of that city. Basil's struggle with Anthimus, Bishop of Tyana, who claimed Metropolitical jurisdiction over that part which was severed; and the ordination by Basil of his friend Gregory Nazianzen to the See of Sasima against his will; and Basil's subsequent reconciliation with Anthimus, and his friendship with Gregory, belong rather to their personal history.[1]

Valens, having been successful in the Gothic war, pursued his career from Constantinople towards Cappadocia. He sent before him Euippius, an Arian Bishop,[2] and Modestus, the prefect already distinguished by his outrages against the Catholics.[3] Basil refused to admit Euippius to communion,[4] and presented himself before Modestus.[5] The Prefect accosted him thus; the narrative of the dialogue is from Gregory Nazianzen, who was present[6]: "Who art thou, that alone of all men thou darest resist so great an Emperor?" "What is the meaning of that question, tell me?" replied Basil. "Thou dost not revere the Emperor's religion, which all others accept." "My Emperor cannot desire me to worship a creature." "Is it not a great thing to join with us?" "Certainly, ye are civil rulers, and illustrious; I do not deny it; but ye are not superior to God. Christianity is not ennobled by dignity of person, but by faith." The Prefect arose from his seat in anger,

[9] Basil, Epist. 74, 75, 98. Greg. Naz. Orat. xliii. § 58, de Basilio.
[1] See ibid. [2] Epist. 69. [3] See above, p. 232.
[4] Epist. 128. [5] Greg. Naz. Orat. xx.
[6] Ibid. Orat. xliii. p. 806. Cp. Theodoret, iv. 16.

Digitized by Google

and replied, "Dost thou not fear this power of ours?" "Wherefore should I fear it? What will happen to me if I do not? What shall I suffer?" "What wilt thou suffer? One of these things: confiscation of thy goods, banishment, torture, death." "None of these things affect me. Confiscation of goods cannot harm one who has nothing except some worn-out robes and a few books. Banishment I know not, because I am not confined to earth, and do not think the ground on which I tread to be mine; the Earth is the Lord's, I am only a sojourner on it. And how can tortures reach me, except the first stroke of them, since I have a body that will not bear them? Death will be a boon to me. I shall be sooner with the Lord, for Whom I live, and to Whom I hasten to go. In all other things, O Prefect, we are mild and gentle; for our laws forbid us to behave proudly, not only to the Emperor, but to any one however lowly; but when God commands us, we look at Him alone. Fire, the sword, wild beasts, hooks that tear our flesh—these are our joy rather than our fear. Report this to the Emperor."

The Prefect retired, and said to the Emperor, "We are conquered. No threats or blandishments affect him. You must try force, or not expect him to yield."

To this account some addition is made by the Church-historian, Theodoret.[7] "Why," said the Prefect, "do you expose so many Churches to danger for the sake of a little nicety of dogma?" "They who are trained in divine learning," replied Basil, "dare not surrender a single iota of those sacred dogmas, but welcome all kinds of death rather than

[7] Theodoret, iv. 17.

Digitized by Google

do so." "Thou art mad." "Yes, and may I always be thus mad." "Come again to-morrow," said the Prefect with threats, "and let me know your mind." "I will come to-morrow, and, if you will, then execute your threats."

After Modestus had reported to the Emperor the result of his interview with Basil, Valens, who was timorous[8] as well as wilful, and did not wish to risk a conflict with Basil, or to appear to be vanquished by him, told the Prefect that he had exceeded his commission in attempting to terrify Basil with menaces, and that he desired to be on friendly terms with the Bishop of Cæsarea, and would, with his imperial suite, be among the worshippers at the Cathedral on the Festival of the Epiphany, A.D. 372.

Gregory Nazianzen—who was then at Cæsarea, and a portion of whose narrative has been already quoted—thus describes what occurred:[9]—

"When the Emperor was within the Church, and when his ears rang with the sound of the Psalms, as with a peal of thunder; and when he saw the sea of people present, and the almost angelic order and decency of divine worship, in the Sacrarium, and outside it; and the Bishop standing erect like a pillar before the people—as Samuel is described in Scripture—and not moving his body, his eye, or his mind, in any direction, as if nothing had occurred, but wholly riveted on God and on the altar;[1] and

[8] Above, p. 230.

[9] Greg. Naz. Orat. xliii. pp. 805—809.

[1] Hence, as has been remarked, it appears that in some ancient Churches, at the Holy Communion, the Celebrant looked over the altar with his face towards the people. See De Broglie, L'Église, &c., v. pp. 101 and 97, and ii. pp. 170—173. And this is now the case at Rome in S. Peter's Church, and in the Church at Ravenna. "Altars"

Digitized by Google

when he also saw those who were around him standing with fear and reverence, he felt his human weakness, and was seized with a sudden dizziness and darkness; and when the offerings were to be made by him, which he had prepared for the altar, and no one stepped forward to receive them at his hands and it was not sure that Basil would accept them, then he began to totter, and would have fallen to the ground, if he had not been held up by the hand of one of the ministers."

The Emperor came a second time to the Church; and then Basil received his offerings, and invited him within the curtains to the place where he was sitting, and discoursed with him on the true faith.[2] It is said that Valens was much affected by the death of his child at Cæsarea, whom he had allowed to be baptized by an Arian against Basil's advice. But afterwards, fickle as he was, he was incited by some Arian counsellors to condemn Basil to exile, and had resolved to do so, but was deterred from his purpose.[3] Indeed, Valens seems to have been so much impressed with Basil's firmness and gentleness that he encouraged him in the erection of a noble building for the reception of poor, strangers, and sick, in the suburbs of Cæsarea.[4]

(says Bingham, viii. 6. 11) "were placed at some distance from the apse (*conchula*), or upper end of the Chancel (βῆμα), with the Bishop's seat behind them." See below, p. 279, the words from the Apostolic Constitutions, and Neander, iii. 383. There is a remnant of this arrangement in the Church of S. Ambrogio at Milan, and in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, and in the Church of Stow, near Lincoln.

[2] Theodoret, iv. 16.

[3] Ibid. Greg. Naz. Orat. xliii. Sozomen, vi. 16. Maran, p. ciii.

[4] Basil, Epist. 94. Theod. iv. 16. Greg. Nyssen. in Basil, p. 492. It might have been hoped that some vestiges would remain of these great works of Basil, and also of the magnificent Church at Nazianzus,

Digitized by Google

With regard to this pious and charitable work, we are told that Basil took care that it should have a handsome Church, and a residence for the Bishop, and be well supplied with medical and other officers and attendants; it had also a monastery attached to it, for the service of the Hospital. It was a model to other hospitals built in other towns of the Diocese[5] often visited by the Bishop. In his replies to Modestus, Basil had stated that he had no private property; this hospital therefore must have been built and endowed from the revenues of the see, regarded by Basil as assigned to the Bishop for public uses; and from the contributions of the faithful, as his friend Gregory relates,[6] who dwells specially on his sympathy with lepers, and on his loving behaviour to them, kissing them as brethren in Christ.[7]

in which Basil's friend preached, and which was built by Gregory's father (see below, p. 300). The following reply to inquiries on these points is from an enterprising and learned traveller in that country, the Rev. H. F. Tozer, Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, and Radcliffe Travelling Fellow in 1870:—

"In answer to the question about Cæsareia, I am afraid I can only say that all the buildings of the early Christian period have been swept away, and the only memorial of S. Basil is his name attached to a hill in the neighbourhood. Eight hundred years of Saracen and Seljouk ravages in those lands did their work thoroughly. I have not been to Nazianzus, but I believe its antiquities are in the same condition. If my book should ever fall in your way, you may be interested in the account of a valley in the neighbourhood of Cæsareia; the tufa sides of it are excavated into cells, refectories, and churches, with elaborate ornament and frescoes still brilliant, giving evidence of the existence of a very large mediæval monastic community. Of the history of this there is absolutely no trace, but it is difficult not to associate its existence there with the founder of the *cœnobite system*."

[5] Epist. 142, 143, 150.

[6] Greg. Naz. Orat. xliii. 817, 818.

[7] As S. Hugh of Lincoln did in later days. Magna Vita, pp. 162—164.

Digitized by Google

Valens also gave other evidence of his respect for Basil. He had curtailed Basil's influence in Cappadocia by dividing it into two parts; but he made some amends by giving him an imperial commission to erect new sees and consecrate Bishops in Armenia. This seems to have been done through the good offices of Basil's friend, Count Terentius.[8] His Episcopal Visitation of that country was productive of much good. But the favourable impression produced on the mind of Valens was not of long duration. On the death of Athanasius in the spring of A.D. 374, the choice of the Clergy fell unanimously on Peter, whom he had designated as his successor; but Valens, acting under the instigation of Euzoius, the Arian Bishop of Antioch, sent Lucius the heresiarch to supersede Peter;[9] and the outrages were then renewed at Alexandria, which had produced such consternation there in the Episcopates of his Arian predecessors, Gregory and George of Cappadocia.

Basil's friend, Eusebius of Samosata, was also banished in this year, by order of Valens. The respect of Eusebius for the imperial authority was manifested by the considerate and ingenious manner in which he screened the officer of his persecutor from the fury of his loyal and indignant people,[1] and retired quietly into exile in Thrace. The same loving spirit of forgiveness showed itself in this good Bishop, when after the death of Valens[2] he had returned from exile, and when he was visiting a town in his diocese in order to consecrate a Bishop there,

[8] Epist. 99.
[9] See Theodoret, iv. 18, 20, 21; Sozom. vi. 19, 20.
[1] See Theodoret, iv. 13.
[2] Ibid. v. 4.

Digitized by Google

and an Arian woman threw a large tile from a house on his head as he was passing by, and fractured his skull. When he was at the point of death, he pardoned the murderer, and conjured those who were present to see that she might be spared.

The troubles of the time, in which the orthodox Bishops could not hold Synods without difficulty, were mitigated by the Epistles of Basil called *Canonical Epistles* (i. e. declaring the *Canons* of the Church on matters of discipline), which were written in reply to the questions of Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium. The first of these [3] was written at the close of A.D. 374; the second [4] after Easter, A.D. 375; and the third [5] in the same year. The first of these Epistles contains 16 Canons, the second 34, the third 35.

These Epistles are interesting, as showing what the Canon Law of the Eastern Church was at that time. Basil does not profess to put forth in them any Edicts of his own, but only to deliver what he had received by tradition from former generations.[6]

The Epistles deal, among other questions, with that of Heretical Baptism, and declare that Baptism is not to be repeated in cases where it is administered with the element of water in the name of the Blessed Trinity (Can. 1 and 47). Heretics are to be received to communion *in articulo mortis*, if penitent (Can. 5).

They also lay down rules as to Marriage. Polygamy is denounced as bestial (Can. 80). Fornication is strongly condemned, especially in the Clergy

[3] Epist. 188.

[4] Epist. 199.

[5] Epist. 217. These Canonical Epistles to Amphilochius are also contained in Bishop Beveridge's Synodicon, tom. ii. pp. 47—135 (ed. Oxon. 1672), with the notes of Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristænus.

[6] Epist. 188.

Digitized by Google

(Can. 3 and 59), and severely punished. Incestuous Marriages are to be punished as adultery. Wilful abortion is homicide (Can. 2, 8, and 51). Amatory philtres are condemned. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is forbidden (Can. 23, 68, and 78; see above, p. 245). Carnal connexion with a half-sister or a daughter-in-law is to be severely punished (Can. 75 and 76). Divorce is not allowed, except for fornication. A man who has been deserted by his wife is pardonable if he marries another, but a man who deserts his wife and marries another is guilty of adultery (Can. 9). But a woman ought not to marry another man till she is assured of her husband's death (Can. 31; cp. Can. 36). Digamists are not to be admitted to Holy Orders (Can. 12).

Early professions of Virginity are very carefully to be scrutinized and controlled (Can. 18). A Widow, who is maintained by the Church, is censured if she marries (1 Tim. v. 11). Such a widow, who is sixty years old, and who cohabits with a man, is not to be admitted to communion till she separates from him; but if she has been admitted among the widows of the Church *before* sixty years of age, "the fault (says Basil) is ours, not hers."

A man who has vowed to abstain from swine's flesh has done a silly thing. Such vows ought not to be taken. No creature of God is to be refused, if received with thanksgiving (1 Tim. iv. 4). Men are to be taught that they should abstain from foolish vows and rash promises, and that the use of God's creatures is indifferent (Can. 28). Canon 29 is against rash vows and oaths.

Canons 72 and 83 are against sorcery, divination, and magical arts.

Digitized by Google

In one of his Epistles[7] he discusses the question of frequent communion: daily communion (he says) is a good thing; the Church of Cæsarea does not communicate daily, but four times a week—Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday—and on Saints' Days.

In answer to the question, whether in time of persecution, and when the presence of a priest or deacon is not to be had, a person may receive the Eucharist already consecrated, he answers in the affirmative.

These Canonical Letters of S. Basil may be followed by an Epistle of his younger brother, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, to a friend, inquiring his opinion of "pilgrimages to Jerusalem."[8] "I went to Jerusalem," replies Gregory, "because I had been summoned to attend a Council for the settlement of the affairs of the Church of Arabia, and the Emperor put at my disposal a public carriage for the journey. But to say the truth, I was greatly distressed by what I saw. All men and women are commanded by Christ to lead holy lives, but they are not ordered to go to Jerusalem; as they would have been, if a pilgrimage thither were the way to salvation. And if the divine grace were specially vouchsafed to Jerusalem, there would not be so much vice prevalent there as there is. In the inns and cities on the way thither the mind is offended by all kinds of contamination, and at Jerusalem itself every sort of profligacy abounds. My answer therefore is this: I confessed Christ to be truly God before I went to Jerusalem. I knew that He was born of a Virgin before I was at Bethlehem

[7] Epist. 93. As to the genuineness of this Epistle, see Maran, Vit. Bas. p. cxi.

[8] Greg. Nyssen. Opera, ii. p. 1084, Paris, 1615.

Digitized by Google

I knew that He had risen from the dead before I saw the Holy Sepulchre, and that He had ascended into heaven before I was at Olivet.[9] But this I have learnt from my pilgrimage, that our own places in Cappadocia are holier than those of Palestine, for there is more holiness of life there. Therefore, ye who fear God, abide where ye are, and praise Him there. Change of place will not bring you nearer to Him; but God will come to you, wherever you are, if your soul itself is such an inn, that He may be willing to sojourn there; but if your heart is full of evil thoughts, you are as far from having Christ as your guest, as one who knows nothing of Him, even though you are at Calvary, and on Olivet, and at the Holy Sepulchre. Therefore, my dear friend, give this advice to our brethren. Let them not make pilgrimages from Cappadocia to Palestine, but let them so live at home, that their souls, at their death, may go forth from their bodies on a pilgrimage to the Lord."

In A.D. 375, November 17, Valentinian, the elder brother of Valens, and Emperor of the West, died by a fit of apoplexy; and was succeeded by his two sons, Gratian, and Valentinian the younger, four years old, under the tutelage of his Arian mother Justina.

The removal of Valentinian by death seems to have been followed by a fresh outbreak of Arian persecution in the East. Cappadocia was twice visited by Demosthenes, the Arian Prefect, Vicar of Pontus, and in the second visit suffered severely from his cruelties (Epist. 231, 237, 241).

[9] So even Jerome says (Epist. 49 ad Paullin.), "The *places* of Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection profit only those who bear their own cross, and rise daily with Him. Heaven lies open to us in Britain as well as at Jerusalem. 'The Kingdom of God is within us.'"

Digitized by Google

Gregory Nyssen, Basil's brother, was deposed by an heretical Synod at Ancyra,[1] in which Eustathius, formerly the pretended friend of Basil, but afterwards his open enemy, took a part.

Basil now broke a silence of three years, and wrote to Eustathius a letter,[2] in which he vindicates himself, and exposes the machinations of his enemies.

Another heretical Synod was held in A.D. 375, at Nyssa, under the influence of the same Eustathius, instigated by the civil Governor, Demosthenes.[3] The Bishop of Nyssa, Basil's brother Gregory, was condemned by the Arians in his own city.

The decrees of the orthodox Council of Gangra—to which we have already referred as directed against Eustathius[4]—may have been designed for a reprisal against his action in these Arian Synods.

In A.D. 376, S. Epiphanius, the learned Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, and the author of a voluminous work on heresies, and also on the true faith, appealed to Basil in a laudatory letter, expressive of his entire confidence in him, and asking for his intervention in appeasing the schism at Antioch, and in condemning the heresy of Apollinarius. S. Basil replied[5] modestly, that he was unworthy of such confidence, being unskilled in sacred learning and eloquence, and that he was quite content with the Creed of Nicæa, and did not wish for any addition to be made to it, except for the declaration of the glory of the Holy Ghost, equally with that of the Father and of the Son; "an addition which is now necessary," he adds, "on account of the controversy which has now been raised

[1] Epist. 225, 237—239. [2] Epist. 226. [3] Epist. 237, 239, 244, 250.
[4] See p. 243. [5] Epist. 258.

Digitized by Google

on that subject, but which had not been stirred in the time of their forefathers at Nicæa. I am quite satisfied with your statement," says Basil, "that it is necessary to assert *three hypostases;* and our brethren at Antioch will, I hope, be confirmed in this judgment by you. It is a sorrowful thing that the city Antioch, in which 'the disciples were first called Christians,' should now be rent with schisms. As for me, I hold communion with the most reverend Bishop and Confessor Meletius. The most blessed Pope Athanasius, when he came thither from Alexandria, earnestly desired that he might be enabled to communicate with Meletius, but this was postponed for another time, by the malice of evil counsellors. Would to God it had not been so!"[6]

Many of the Easterns were afraid that they might seem to be Sabellians, if they used the terms *one hypostasis* and *three persons;* and they desired to express the truth that each Person of the Trinity subsisted in a true hypostasis; they therefore used the term *three hypostases.* But many of the Westerns shrank from this term *three hypostases*, through fear of seeming to be Arians; because they translated *hypostasis* by *substance* (not having a separate word to represent *ousia*), and they were content with the word *person*, which did not equally approve itself to the Easterns. However, as we have seen, Athanasius[7] reconciled the two parties, and declared that the

[6] At this time there were three rival Bishops of Antioch—two Catholic, Meletius and Paullinus; the former supported by Basil and the Easterns, the second by Rome and the Westerns.

A third party was headed by Vitalis the Apollinarian, who pretended to be also in communion with Rome (Sozomen, vi. 25; Theodoret, v. 3, 4).

[7] Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. See above, p. 222.

Digitized by Google

terms *three hypostases* and *three persons* were convertible, and that both might be used in an orthodox sense.

Justice would not be done to Basil's large-heartedness and many-sidedness, if no reference were made to his intellectual and spiritual relations to the Heathen World. No stress can be laid on his supposed correspondence with the Emperor Julian, nor with the sophist and rhetorician Libanius. These letters are of doubtful authority.[8] But Basil was in sympathy with all the nobler spirits of Heathen Antiquity. Like the great masters of the Alexandrine School, Clement and Origen,[9] he regarded them, in their holier moods, as prophets of universal humanity. He declared that God had never left Himself without a witness, and that the Poets and Philosophers of Greece were pioneers of Christ, and that now, when Christianity has appeared, men are without excuse, if they reject those truths which those noble spirits felt after, and which they would have joyfully and thankfully embraced, if they had been tendered to their acceptance, and which have now been revealed to the World in the Gospel. Basil, in his treatise "on reading the books of the Gentiles,"[1] addressed to the young students at Cæsarea, is something more than a wise guide to the student of classical literature; he is an apologist for God in His dealings with the Ancient World.

[8] See Maran, Vit. Basil. clxxii. One of Gregory Nyssen's letters (Epist. 13, ed. Migne, p. 1049) is said by the Editor to have been addressed to Libanius, and in that letter Gregory speaks of the person to whom he writes, as his brother Basil's instructor in eloquence, as Basil was his own teacher in that art.

[9] See above, vol. i. pp. 252, 262, 275.

[1] Basil, tom. ii. 173—185, ed. Bened. Paris, 1722.

Digitized by Google

From what the World knew and felt by Nature Basil argues in that Address for the truth of Revelation, as satisfying its eager cravings and best aspirations.

Let us make an extract from it as a specimen of Basil's treatment of Ancient Literature. He is referring to the beautiful picture drawn by Homer in the Odyssey, of the daughter of Alcinöus, King of the Phæacians, Nausicaa, when she first saw Ulysses, who had been shipwrecked and cast by the waves on the shore. "In nothing[2] has Homer more clearly shown his virtuous design (says Basil) than in his representation of Ulysses when saved from shipwreck. He has described the Princess Nausicaa as inspired with reverence for Ulysses at his first approach; and far from being ashamed at seeing him in nakedness and alone, Virtue had clothed him with her own self in place of raiment.[3] Afterwards Ulysses is represented by Homer as highly esteemed by the rest of the Phæacians, so that quitting their luxurious living and self-indulgence they turned their eyes to him in admiration, and all would have wished to have been like Ulysses. Here then Homer seems, as it were, to cry aloud and say, "O men, love Virtue, which swims safe to shore with him that is shipwrecked; and, when he is cast forth on the dry land, ennobles him more than the Phæacians."

[2] I have here adopted the version of the Rev. Isaac Williams in his interesting and instructive volume, "The Christian Student," Oxford, 1854, p. 133, which is illustrative of Basil's treatise, and might be profitably studied by teachers and scholars in our public schools. The words which I have quoted are accompanied by some charming verses of the same Author.

[3] And (as the same writer says of Nausicaa) she herself was

"Inly dressed in noble innocence,
With goodly nature and sweet modesty."

Digitized by Google

In the same book Basil[4] describes the study of the truth in Gentile writers, as like gazing at the sun reflected in the water, that we may be able to look up to the true light; and as preparing us to understand the depths of the Scriptures by exercising the eye of the soul in looking at the reflection of truth in earthly mirrors and shadows of it. At the same time Basil advises the application of an eclectic process to their writings. His young students must test them by the touchstone of the Gospel. In such studies "we are to look at all things as they conduce to eternal good in the future life. We are to turn a deaf ear to all voluptuous enchantments, as Ulysses closed up with wax the ears of his sailors against the songs of the Sirens; we are to extract the honey from the flowers of heathen Poetry and Philosophy, and are not to be enchanted with their colour and their perfume. We are to consecrate those studies to the glory of God, and the good of His Church, and the salvation of souls."[5]

He refers in this book to the noble lines of Hesiod[6] concerning the steep and rugged road of Virtue leading upward to a glorious Eminence, as compared with the smooth and easy path of Vice, sloping downward to destruction; and quotes[7] the apologue of Prodicus of Ceos, so beautifully expanded by Socrates in Xenophon's Memorabilia,[8] on the choice of the

[4] His friend Gregory (de Vitâ suâ, Carm. xi. *v.* 110 sqq.) states another reason for his own study of Heathen writers, viz. that he might refute Heathenism and defend Christianity.

[5] De Broglie (L'Église, v. 224—228) has some excellent remarks on this treatise of Basil.

[6] Opera et Dies, ii. 285—290. Basil, ii. p. 176.

[7] Basil, ii. p. 177.

[8] Xen. Mem. ii. 1. 21.

Digitized by Google

youthful Hercules between the rival claims and appeals of two beautiful women, Virtue and Pleasure; and he thence infers that to the Heathen some glimpses were revealed of the great moral truth preached to the World by Christ in His Divine words concerning the broad and narrow Ways (Matt. vii. 13, 14), the one the path of Life, the other leading to destruction. He reminds the young men of Cæsarea that the great Athenian orator and statesman, Pericles,[9] was an example of patient forbearance, and was not moved to passion by the scurrilous abuse of a petulant railer reviling him all day long, but courteously lighted him home to his house in the evening; and he mentions instances of similar calmness and forgiveness of enemies on the part of Euclid of Megara towards a man who said that he had sworn with an oath that he would kill him; "Yes," he replied, "and I have also sworn with an oath that I will pacify you." And he refers to the exemplary chastity and self-restraint of the youthful Conqueror of Persia, Alexander the Great, in the presence of his beautiful captives, the daughters of Darius. And, asks Basil, "If heathens could act thus, what is to be expected of you Christians?"

He appeals to the vast pains taken by the athletes of heathen Antiquity, like Milo, to prepare themselves by long training and self-denial for gymnastic contests and conquests; and to the perseverance of Timotheus in practising on the lyre, in order that he might sway by its music the passions of Alexander the Great at his nuptial feast.[1] And he adds,

[9] Basil, ii. 178.

[1] Ibid. ii. p. 179. Compare Dryden's Ode on S. Cæcilia's Day—"Alexander's Feast."

Digitized by Google

"If these gentile artists made such diligent and unwearied preparations and endeavours for the attainment of excellence in their earthly art, and for the fading garlands of ephemeral victories, what ought we not to do for proficiency in the art of arts—holiness of life—and for the beautiful crown of everlasting glory?"

One of the causes of the success of Basil's teaching was, that he knew how to apply the arguments from the best works of ancient Poetry and Philosophy to the confirmation and attestation of divine truth; and his sermons derived much of their persuasive influence on a Greek and Asiatic audience from their allusions to gentile Literature and Art.

The following words express the feelings of his friend Gregory Nazianzen on reading the writings of Basil:[2]—"When I take into my hands and read his Hexämeron" (his commentary on the first Chapter of Genesis), "I am brought into communion with the Creator, and understand the words of Creation. When I peruse the books he has written on the Holy Spirit, I find out God, and I preach boldly the truth, treading in the steps of his theology and contemplation. When I read his other expositions, I do not halt at the mere outward letter, but I pierce down deep into the spirit, and hear as it were "one deep calling to another,"[3] and I behold light streaming in upon light, and thus I grasp the sublime meanings of Holy Scripture."

[2] Greg. Naz. Orat. xliii. p. 822. Gregory also eulogizes Basil's learning, wisdom, and eloquence in his autobiographical Poem, *v.* 221, p. 687, and describes his friendship, cherished by himself at Athens and afterwards, as one of the greatest blessings of his life.

[3] Ps. xlii. 9.

Digitized by Google

Let us now turn from Basil to Valens, and from Cæsarea to Antioch.

Themistius, the heathen sophist and rhetorician of Antioch, endeavoured to mitigate the rage of the Emperor against the Catholics, and pleaded for Toleration; and it is said that the effect of the appeal was that in some cases death was commuted for banishment.[4]

But a more powerful aid was now exerted in their behalf. The Goths were employed by Divine Providence as an instrument for punishing the sins of the East and West. They were now retreating from before the victorious arms of the Huns, who were driving them from their homes in Scythia, and they were pouring down in vast nomad swarms into Dacia, on the north of the Danube. They sent an embassy to Valens for help against their pursuers. Their principal envoy was Ulfilas,[5] a Goth of Christian ancestry, who had been consecrated Missionary Bishop, and who had made many converts to the faith. Many Gothic Christians were persecuted by their heathen fellow-countrymen, and died glorious deaths as Martyrs for the truth. Ulfilas, their Bishop, is said to have introduced alphabetical characters among the Goths; he translated a large portion of the Scriptures into their language; his Version of parts of the New Testament is still extant.[6] He was at first, it is said, a Catholic, and in communion with Damasus; and Basil spoke of that country as holding the true faith. But through the sinister influence of Valens, who would only listen to overtures of friendship on

[4] Socr. iv. 32. Sozom. vi. 36.

[5] On Ulfilas, see above, pp. 43, 44.

[6] It is printed in the Abbé Migne's Patrologia, tom. xviii. p. 498, ed. Paris. 1848.

Digitized by Google

that condition, he and his people had been perverted to Arianism.[7]

Valens was gratified by the overtures of the Gothic Ambassadors. If the Goths were allowed to cross the Danube and settle in Thrace, they pledged themselves to defend the Roman frontier against all barbarian irruptions. They would be like a military Vallum against the Huns. The Emperor supplied them with transports, but under the unwise condition that they should surrender their arms.

This was an ungracious stipulation, and the negotiations for the Gothic colonization of Thrace were marred by so much injustice, cruelty, avarice, and sensual licentiousness on the part of the Roman officers, civil and military, who were entrusted with the execution of the imperial commission, that instead of being defenders of the Roman territory, the Goths became formidable enemies and restless invaders of the Roman dominions.

At the close of the year 377, Valens received at Antioch the alarming intelligence that the Gothic Colonists, about 200,000 strong, were in revolt. He left Antioch for Constantinople, which he reached on the 30th of May, A.D. 378. He had despatched a message for help to his nephew Gratian in the West, who had returned in triumph from a successful campaign in Germany, and who promised to come to his aid.

In the mean time the two rival tribes of Ostrogoths and Visigoths, and even some of their enemies the Huns, were concentrating a tremendous force against the imperial power. The Emperor was publicly denounced at Constantinople by the populace as the author of the national calamity; he had invited the barbarians into the Roman territory, which they were

[7] Sozom. vi. 37. Socr. iv. 33. Theodoret, iv. 33.

Digitized by Google

now claiming as their own. Provoked by this popular indignation, and beguiled by courtly flatterers, Valens determined to lead his forces in person against the Goths. With this resolve he marched to Adrianople, and encamped there. His Lieutenant, Duke Sebastian—who had been the friend of Gregory of Cappadocia, and the Persecutor of Athanasius and of the Catholics at Alexandria in A.D. 356—sent an exaggerated report of his own military achievements against the Goths, which tempted Valens to jealousy and rashness. He was impatient to seize the glory of an anticipated victory. He would claim for himself all the success of the conquest, and would not wait for the arrival of his nephew Gratian's reinforcements, lest he should be a sharer in the triumph. He was also deluded by a treacherous message received from the Gothic chief Fritigern, by means of a Christian Priest of that country; and in a fit of reckless infatuation, as if under the spell of destiny, Valens rushed to his own destruction, and to that of his army.[8]

The engagement took place at about ten miles north of Adrianople, on August 9, A.D. 378. Some time was lost in parleying. In the mean while the sun shone fiercely. The Romans were exposed to its scorching glare, and were exhausted with hunger, thirst, and fatigue. The squadrons of the Goths swept down with a whirlwind's force from the hills, to join their allies in the plain, and added new terrors to the charge. The Roman cavalry[9] was routed; the

[8] As stated by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 12: "Vicit funesta Principis destinatio, et adulabilis quorundum sententia regiorum, qui ne pæne jam partæ victoriæ, ut opinabantur, consors fieret Gratianus, properari cursu celeri suadebant."

[9] See Gibbon's description, ch. xxvi. p. 409, from Marcellinus, xxxi. 12, 13.

Digitized by Google

infantry cut to pieces. Above two-thirds of the Roman army was slain. Sebastian and other Generals among them perished. Adrianople was a second Cannæ.[1]

The body-guard of the Emperor himself was closely hemmed in; the Emperor was wounded by an arrow, and at nightfall was carried from the field to a cottage, which was set on fire by the enemy, and Valens was burnt to death in the flames. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, having reigned fourteen years and four months and a few days.

Some singular incidents in his death have been noticed by the historians. He perished by fire, the element by which he had destroyed others. Among the Magicians whom Valens had commanded to be put to death[2] was Simonides, whom he ordered to be burnt alive.[3] They had predicted that Valens would be succeeded by a person[3] whose name began with the letters THEOD (a prophecy verified in Theodosius). They also foretold in oracular verses[4] that the death of Simonides by fire would be avenged by fire, and that Valens would die in a particular place called

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. xxxi. 13.

[2] See above, p. 213.

[3] Ammian. Marcellin. xxix. 1.

[4] These three verses as they stand in editions of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxix. 1; cp. xxxi. 14) are in a corrupt state, and need emendation. They are printed incorrectly thus:—

Οὐ μὰν νηποινί γε σὸν ἔσσεται αἷμα· καὶ αὐτοῖς
Τισιφόνη βαρύμηνις ΕΦΟΙΤΑΣΣΕΙ κακὸν οἶτον
Ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος ΑΙ ΛΑ (*some MSS. read* ΑΙΑΛΛΙ)
καιομένοις ΚΑΡ.

May I be allowed to offer the following conjectures upon them? I would propose to read ΝΗΠΟΙΝΕΙ for *νηποινί*, and ΕΦΟΙΤΑΣΕΝ (i. e. *visited*; the prophetic aorist, like Jude 14, ἦλθε Κύριος) for *ἐφοιτάσσει*; and ΙΑΛΛΕΙ (*ἰάλλει* i. e. *sends*) for αἷλα, or αἰάλλι; and ΚΗΡ (i. e. *Fate*) for *κάρ*; and I have so translated the lines; see over leaf.

Digitized by Google

the *plains of Mimas*.[5] The prophetic verses were these:—

"Thy blood however (O Simonides) will not be unavenged; the wrathful Tisiphone hath visited them (i. e. thy murderers). Fate sends an evil death to them *burnt* in the plains of *Mimas*."

The death of Valens by fire is more remarkable when it is remembered that eighty Priests[6] were burnt in a ship by his order at Nicomedia.

Ammianus Marcellinus explains "the plains of *Mimas*." It was like the oracle which predicted Julian's death in Phrygia.[7] Valens, having heard this oracle (says that historian[8]), "at first despised it; but being panic-struck with alarms by the occurrence of terrible sorrows, he avoided Mount Mimas in Asia, and even Asia itself; but after his death it was discovered that at the place where he fell in battle, there was a Tomb, engraved with an inscription in Greek letters, of an ancient hero MIMAS."

Such are the comments of the heathen historian. To the Christian reader other reflections will suggest themselves. One will probably be that, in the inscrutable dispensations of Divine Providence, Valens, the persecutor of the Catholics and the partisan of Arianism for fourteen years, perished by the hands of those whom he had invited to defend him and his Empire, and whom he had perverted from Catholicism to Arianism, as a condition of his own friendship and

[5] Ammian. Marcellin. xxix. 1, who says that they foretold that the Furies breathing blood *and fire* waited for the Emperor. Some historians (Ammian. Marc. xxx. 1; Evagr. i. 20) report that a huge Bath was constructed by Valens, which required an immense quantity of wood to heat it, and was called the "Bath of Valens," and gave occasion to scurrilous raillery—"See how Valens burns."

[6] Above, p. 233.

[7] See above, p. 179.

[8] Ammian. Marcellin. xxxi. 14.

Digitized by Google

alliance with them ; and that by his death he opened the way at Adrianople for the accession of Theodosius, who bore the fatal initials in his name, and had been preserved from the hands of Valens ; and who successfully repelled the Goths, the conquerors of Valens and destroyers of his army ; and who suppressed Arianism when it seemed dominant, and raised up Catholicism when prostrate ; and summoned the Council of Constantinople, which confirmed the Creed of Nicæa, and added those Articles to it, which S. Basil had said were alone needed, by declaring the consubstantial Godhead of the Holy Ghost.

Let us now pass from the cottage near Adrianople, where the Roman Emperor perished by fire, to another death-bed—that of S. Basil at Cæsarea.

He survived Valens only a few months, but he was spared long enough to see the fruit of his labours and sufferings for the faith. In some of his last letters[9] he expresses his hopes, and prays for the peace of the Church. He saw with joy that, by the Edict of Gratian, who after the death of Valens had the supreme power, the banished Bishops were restored to their sees.[1] He knew that Gratian was sound in Christian doctrine, which he had received from S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who had just composed for his special use, when Gratian was marching to the East to assist his uncle Valens, his "Books on Faith,"[2] in which he exhorts him to hold the true faith as set forth in the Creed of Nicæa, and guards him against Arianism and Sabellianism.

[9] To the Bishop of Edessa, Barses, Epist. 267, and to his friend Eusebius of Samosata, Epist. 268.

[1] Theodoret, v. 2.

[2] S. Ambrosii "De Fide ad Gratianum Augustum libri quinque," Opera, tom. iii. pp. 342—443.

Digitized by Google

Basil perhaps foresaw the accession of Theodosius, who was proclaimed Augustus in the East on the 19th of January, A.D. 379—about three weeks after Basil's death. Perhaps he exhorted his friend Gregory Nazianzen to go to Constantinople, where, after forty years of conflict, the Faith was re-established by his means.

In the short interval before his death, Basil's strength, which had been exhausted by severe labours, manifold anxieties, bodily infirmities, and rigid austerity, was refreshed for a time, and he was enabled (says his friend Gregory, in the oration which he pronounced at Cæsarea on the anniversary of his death, about three years after it) to strengthen his friends by words of holiness and wisdom; and he laid his hands on some of his most faithful scholars for the service of the sanctuary, and then with his dying breath he joyfully said, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," and fell asleep.[3] He died on January 1, the Feast of the Circumcision, A.D. 379, probably in the fiftieth year of his age.[4]

The affectionate reverence in which he was held was shown by an immense concourse of vast multitudes, not only of Christians, but of Jews and Heathens, neighbours and strangers, flocking to his funeral. In the words of Gregory,[5] "His body was at last laid in the sepulchre of his fathers; and he who had been the chief of Bishops, was united to other Bishops; and that Voice of power which still rings in my ears was joined to other Preachers, and another Martyr was added to the Martyrs who had gone before him to glory."

[3] Greg. Naz. Orat. xliii. § 79, § 80.

[4] Maran, p. xxxviii.

[5] Orat. xliii. ibid.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VIII.

Divine Worship in the Church—Ancient Liturgies—Effects produced on Christian Life—Marriage and Celibacy—Elevation of Womanhood—Its Influence.

IN reading the history of the Church in times of trial and trouble, such as those which she endured in the reigns of Constantius, Julian, and Valens, we may perhaps need to be reminded that the power and love of her Divine Lord was ever working in quiet ways of His own appointment, which never ceased to quicken, cherish, and sustain her inner life, and to bring forth fruits of piety, holiness, and charity in her faithful members.

Among the religious and moral instruments and influences which sustained, strengthened, and expanded the life of the Christian Church, none were more potent than those which operated in her Liturgical offices, in the largest sense of the term. A Scriptural and Catholic Liturgy possesses a conservative and restorative power; it is like a sacred Anchor, mooring the ship of the Church amid the storms of Heresy and Schism, and enabling it after the tempest to make missionary voyages for evangelizing the world.

One of the wisest acts in S. Basil's Episcopate at Cæsarea was, as we have seen,[1] to revise, methodize,

[1] Above, pp. 237, 238.

Digitized by Google

enlarge, and consolidate the Liturgy of his own Church, and to reduce it to writing. The fruit of his labours in this respect was richly abundant in the extension of the use of that Liturgy, and in the continuance of it with some modifications and additions in the Eastern Church. The Liturgy of S. Basil appears to have been, in substance, the groundwork of the Constantinopolitan Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, which is now predominant in the East.[2]

But S. Basil's Liturgy, as he himself intimates, owed its origin to more ancient[3] forms. Those forms were derived from Apostolic times. There is reason, however, to think that the primitive Liturgies were not committed to writing. This is probably to be ascribed to the profound reverence entertained by Christians for the holy Mysteries of their religion, which they desired to protect from desecration. In fact, though we hear of sacred Books falling into heathen hands, and being given up to them by the "Traditors," as they were called, and of their being destroyed by the heathen in times of persecution, we find that these statements apply to the Books of the Old and New Testament, but not to "Service Books" or "Liturgical Offices" of the Church.

S. Basil[4] appears to intimate that even in his time the substance of the Liturgies was the same in all Churches, but were characterized respectively by some circumstantial varieties; and even in the

[2] Dr. J. M. Neale, Eastern Church, i. p. 318.

[3] Basil (in Epist. 207) says that the customs of psalmody which he had appointed in his *cœnobia* were "consonant and agreeable to all the Churches of God," and he proceeded on the same principles in a matter of greater importance, the Liturgy of his Church. Cp. Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, i. 67.

[4] See above, p. 238, *note*.

Digitized by Google

celebration of the Holy Communion the precise form of words to be used was retained in the memory of the Celebrant, but not consigned to books.[5]

The primitive form of the Christian Liturgies has been already presented to the reader in the words of S. Justin Martyr.[6] To his description may be added the statements in the "Apostolic Constitutions,"[7] which are probably not later than the third century.[8]

There the Bishop is represented as seated in the apse at the East end of the Church, with the Presbyters on each side of him. The Divine Service is described as beginning with the reading of Lessons from the Old Testament; then follow Psalms; then Lessons from the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Four Gospels; then the Catechumens and Penitents withdraw from the Church. Praises to God are sung (Ps. lxviii. 34).

This portion of the service was called, in later liturgical language, the "*Missa catechumenorum.*" It was succeeded by what was termed the "*Missa fidelium.*" This commenced, according to the Apostolic Constitutions, with the "*osculum pacis.*" Then followed prayers for the whole Church[9] and World, for

[5] Cp. Daniel, Codex Liturgicus, tom. iv. fasc. i. p. 25. On the history and contents of the Ancient Liturgies, see especially the learned work of Mr. C. E. Hammond, Oxford, 1878.

[6] Above, vol. i. pp. 62—65; and see ibid. p. 60.

[7] Const. Apost. ii. 57. Cp. Const. Apost. viii. 6—14, which probably belongs to the time of S. Hippolytus, that is, the earlier part of the third century. See above, vol. i. p. 416, and my work on S. Hippolytus, 143, 235.

[8] Dr. Neale (Pref. to Clementine Liturgy) assigns the Liturgy in them to an earlier date. Bp. Beveridge (Synod. Appendix ii. p. 40) attributes the Constitutions to Clemens Alexandrinus.

[9] There is no mention here, nor in the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, cap. 10, nor in S. Justin Martyr, of "Prayers for the faithful departed," as in other Liturgies. In the Eighth Book of the Con-

Digitized by Google

Priests and Rulers, for the Bishop and Emperor, for the peace of all.[1] Then the Bishop gave a blessing to the people. After it followed "the sacrifice, and the reception of the Body of the Lord and His precious Blood by all present" in a regulated order and succession.

This 57th chapter of the Second Book of the Apostolic Constitutions is to be combined with several chapters (chaps. 6 to 15 inclusive) in the Eighth Book of those Constitutions,[2] which exhibit an amplification of that 57th chapter of the Second Book, and which constitute what is called the "Clementine Liturgy," but does not seem to have been used in any Church.

It appears from these ancient testimonies (to which others might be added) that the Divine Services of the Early Church consisted[3] of—

1. The Reading of the Old Testament.
2. Psalmody[4] and Hymnody.
3. The Reading of the New Testament.
4. Sermon.[5]
5. Prayers for Catechumens and Penitents (and Energumens, i. e. possessed, Apost. Const. viii. 7; and for the "Competentes," i. e. Candidates for baptism).

stitutions (cap. 12) the words occur, "We offer to Thee for all Saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning and whose names Thou knowest, for Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors," and there is a prayer for grace to remember them in cap. 13. Cp. below, p. 287.

[1] Dr. Neale (Eastern Church, i. 509) gives an interesting summary of the persons and things (e. g. peace, forgiveness, fruitful seasons) prayed for in the ancient Liturgies at the Holy Communion. The intercessory fulness of those Liturgies is one of their most beautiful characteristics.

[2] Apost. Const. pp. 397—411, ed. Cotelerii, Amst. 1724.

[3] Cp. Daniel, Codex Liturgicus, tom. iv. fasc. i. p. 18.

[4] Compare above, vol. i. 122, the statement of Pliny, and Euseb. vii. 20 and vii. 30.

[5] Justin Martyr, above, vol. i. p. 64.

Digitized by Google

6. Dismissal of Catechumens and Penitents.
7. Oblation of Bread and Wine.[6]
8. Silence.
9. "Osculum Pacis."
10. Episcopal Benediction.
11. Thanksgiving.[7] Ter Sanctus.
12. Consecration.[8] Words of Institution (Apost. Const. viii. 12[9]).
13. Lord's Prayer.[1]
14. Communion. After it the Psalm, xxxiv. 8, "Taste and see how gracious the Lord is."
15.[2] Final Benediction.

There is no reason to think that, even in heretical communities, there were any notable deviations from this Liturgical order.[3] The Canon of Scripture was the same. Indeed the Laodicene Council, to which we owe the first Synodical decree on the Canon of Scripture, was probably under Arian influence.[4] The Psalter was the same in all congregations, whether orthodox or heretical; there was some diversity as to Hymns, which may have induced that Council to restrain their use.[5] The Lord's Prayer was the same in all Churches.

[6] Justin Martyr, ibid.

[7] Ibid. Cp. Iren. i. 1.

[8] Cp. Clem. Alex. Pæd. ii. 2, p. 186; Origen c. Cels. viii. 33.

[9] Where *after* Consecration are the words "we offer to Thee this Bread and Cup," as in the Roman "Canon Missæ post consecrationem."

[1] Cp. Daniel, Cod. Liturg. iv. pp. 22—24.

[2] On later additions to this order, and alterations in it, both with regard to what is called the *Prothesis*, and also the *Anaphora*, see Neale, Eastern Church, i. 361, 464.

[3] "Except in some few marked phrases, and often not even in these (says Dr. Neale, Eastern Church, i. 317), the Nestorian or Jacobite are as orthodox as Catholic rites."

[4] See above, p. 196, note.

[5] Above, p. 200.

Digitized by Google

Thus the Christian Liturgies supplied spiritual edification for all; and, among the strifes of parties there was in them a sacred bond of union to all.[6]

We may now, by the help of the earliest manuscripts of S. Basil's Liturgy, form to ourselves a clear view of what it contained.[7] The earlier part of it comprised Psalms, the reading of Scripture, and the Sermon; and after it intercessory Prayers for Catechumens and others, who were successively dismissed. Then came the prayers of "the faithful," that is, of the Communicants; and "the kiss of peace." Then the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the "Ter Sanctus." Then a Commemoration of our Lord's acts and words at the Paschal Supper. Then the oblation of God's creatures, the Bread and Wine.[8] Next the Invocation of the Holy Ghost to make them to become the Body and Blood of Christ. Then intercessory prayer for all men, and for blessings temporal and spiritual; then the Lord's Prayer; then the Benediction, the breaking of the bread—"the holy things to the holy," Communion of Clergy and Laity; then the Thanksgiving and final Benediction.

S. Basil—as has been already said—proceeded in his work of Liturgical revision and settlement, on ancient principles, and according to earlier models. Happily we have also a statement from a contemporary Bishop—the Bishop of Jerusalem, "the Mother of all Churches," S. Cyril—which illustrates and confirms

[6] On the public worship of the Ancient Church, the reader may consult with benefit the xivth and xvth books of Bingham's Antiquities.

[7] Compare Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, i. p. 64, with whom Dr. Neale and Daniel substantially agree.

[8] Compare above, vol. i. pp. 60, 61.

Digitized by Google

that opinion. S. Cyril, when a presbyter of that Church, delivered[9] a series of eighteen Catechetical Lectures on the Creed[1] to adults who were under preparation for baptism; and we have in those Catechetical Lectures a view of the quiet practical work of the Church in building up her children in Christian faith and practice.

Those eighteen Catechetical Lectures upon doctrine and duty were followed by five others[2] on the Christian Sacraments.

S. Cyril, being a presbyter of Jerusalem, may be supposed to be expounding the Liturgy as it had been handed down from St. James, "the Lord's brother," the first Bishop of that Church; and this supposition is confirmed by the coincidences traceable between Cyril's description of the Sacramental Ritual and the Liturgy which now bears the name of St. James,[3] but which, however, has doubtless received

[9] Probably in A.D. 347 or 348. See Cyrilli Opera, ed. Bened. Venet. 1763, p. xcii. Cyril was born probably in A.D. 315, and died March 18, A.D. 386.

[1] The baptismal Creed which at that time was in use at Jerusalem, and is expounded by Cyril, is similar to the Apostles' Creed; it may be seen in Bingham, Antiquities, book x. chap. iv., with other ancient Creeds, and in p. 84 of the Benedictine edition of S. Cyril's works. The principal differences between it and the Apostles' Creed are that it adds in Art. i., "Maker of all things visible and invisible;" in Art. ii., "born of the Father, and Very God, by Whom all things were made;" and Art. viii., "the Holy Spirit Who spake by the prophets."

The baptismal Creed of the Eastern Church is now the Nicene Creed (Neale, p. 968).

[2] Called *Mystagogic* (i. e. introductory to the Christian *Mysteries*); contained in S. Cyril's works, pp. 306—332 in the Benedictine edition.

[3] See the Benedictine Editor's remarks, p. 323, who connects S. Cyril's description with the Liturgy of St. James, and Palmer (Origines Liturgicæ, i. 35), who says, "In his fifth mystical Catechesis Cyril describes the solemn liturgy with a minuteness which is most satisfactory, and which establishes in a remarkable manner the anti-

Digitized by Google

many additions since the Apostolic age. And it has been reasonably supposed that S. Basil paid a careful regard to that Liturgy in the arrangement of his own; and that the "Liturgy of St. James" had a parental relation to that of S. Basil.[4]

In the first of those Sacramental Lectures, Cyril explains to his catechumens who had been baptized, the meaning of the ceremonies used in the baptism of adults:[5] "You," he says, "first turned your faces to the West—the region of darkness—and you said, 'I renounce thee, O Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and service.' Then you turned to the East—the origin of light—and said, 'I believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in One Baptism of repentance.'"

He comments fully on the moral and spiritual significance of those acts; and he tells them that "in the sacred font of regeneration God 'wipes away all tears from all faces.'[6]

"You then laid aside your tunic, in token of having put off the old man, and you were anointed with the holy oil, and were conducted to the font, and then each of you was asked[7] the question, 'Dost thou be-

quity of St. James's Liturgy." But he doubts (p. 43) whether, in title or in fact, that liturgy can be assigned to the Apostle. There is a reference to the Liturgy of St. James (and of S. Basil) in Concil. Trullan. can. 32, on the mixed chalice (A.D. 692).

[4] The Liturgy of St. James, as to its main fabric, is of earlier date than A.D. 200; the Clementine office (i.e. in the Apostolic Constitutions) is at least not later than A.D. 260; the Liturgy of St. Mark (the Alexandrine) is nearly coeval with that of St. James; while those of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom are to be referred respectively to the Saints by whom they purport to be composed. In all these cases, several manifest insertions and additions do not alter the truth of the general statement. Such is the opinion of Dr. Neale, Eastern Church, i. 319.

[5] Cyril, Cateches. p 307. [6] P. 310.

[7] These Lectures being addressed to adults, who received unction from

Digitized by Google

lieve in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost?' and having made a good confession, you were immersed three times, in memory of Christ's three days' burial. Afterwards, 'being baptized into Christ, and having put on Christ,' you received the holy unction of the Spirit."[8]

He then proceeds to speak[9] of the administration of the Holy Eucharist. He declares the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. "Wherefore," he says, "let us partake of Christ with full assurance of faith; for under the figure of Bread is given to you His Body, and under the figure of Wine is given to you His Blood;[1] so that by partaking of His Body and Blood you may be united in body and blood to Him, and be 'partakers of the divine nature'" (1 Pet. i. 4).

He then describes the Ritual observed[2] at Jerusalem in the administration of the Holy Eucharist.

"Ye have seen the Deacon presenting water to the celebrant and Priests[3] surrounding the altar, for the washing of their hands. This has a spiritual meaning (Ps. xxvi. 6). The Deacon then says, 'Receive one another, salute one another;' this is a token of mutual forgiveness and love, as the Scripture teaches

a Priest, and not to persons baptized in infancy, or to others who were confirmed by the laying on of the hands of the Bishop, do not throw light on Confirmation, concerning which the testimonies of Tertullian, Cyprian, and S. Jerome may be seen in Bingham's Antiquities, book xii. chaps. 1, 2, and 3; see also book ix. 6. And may I refer to my notes on Acts viii. 15—18, xix. 6, Heb. vi. 1, on the Apostolic rite of Confirmation?

[8] Cp. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[9] In a Catechetical lecture on the Thursday before Easter, p. 319.

[1] P. 320, and p. 321.

[2] It has been supposed (by the Benedictine Editor, p. 325) that sundry particulars in the Eucharistic ritual are not specified by him here.

[3] τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

Digitized by Google

(Matt. v. 23. 1 Cor. x. 20). Then the celebrant[4] says, 'Lift up your hearts;' and you answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' The Priest says, 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord;' then you answer, 'It is meet and right so to do.'

"We then make a commemorative mention[5] of the heaven, and earth, and sea, and sun and stars, and all the creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible, Angels, Archangels, Principalities, powers, dominions, thrones—of Cherubim and Seraphim (Isa. vi. 2), who cry, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts.'

"We then pray the all-merciful God to send[6] the Holy Spirit upon the elements which are lying before Him, that He may make the Bread to be the Body of Christ, and the Wine to be the Blood of Christ.

"When the spiritual sacrifice[7] and unbloody worship have been completed, we offer prayers to God, upon that sacrifice of propitiation, for the peace of the Churches, and for the stability of the World; for kings, for soldiers and allies; for those in infirmity and affliction, and for all who are in need of help—for these we all pray and offer this sacrifice.

"Afterwards we make commemorative mention of those who have fallen asleep, firstly Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, in order that God by their prayers[8] and embassies may receive our supplication; and for the holy Fathers and Bishops,

[4] *ὁ ἱερεὺς—ἄνω τὰς καρδίας—ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.*

[5] *μνημονεύομεν.*

[6] Compare the Invocation in the Liturgy of St. James, p. 63, ed. Neale, 1858. In that Liturgy the words of "Institution" ("Take, eat, this is My Body") are inserted, and precede the Invocation.

[7] As to the sense in which the Fathers use the word *Sacrifice*, may I refer to the ancient authorities quoted in my note on Malachi i. 11.

[8] See on the Revelation of St. John vi. 9.

Digitized by Google

and for all those [9] who have fallen asleep among us; believing, as we do, that there will be the greatest benefit to the souls for whom the prayer is offered in the presence of this holy and most awful sacrifice. Then we recite the Lord's Prayer.[1] Then the Priest says, 'The Holy things to the Holy.'[2] Then you answer, 'There is one Holy, One Lord, Jesus Christ.' Then the Psalm is sung, 'Taste and see how gracious the Lord is' (Ps. xxxiv. 8).

"Then draw near, not with the wrists stretched out, nor with the fingers parted, but with the left hand made as a throne[3] for the right, in order as it were to receive a King, and receive in the hollow of the palm the Body of Christ, and say, *Amen.*

"After communicating in the Body of Christ, next approach to receive the Cup[4] of His Blood, and say with reverence, *Amen.*

[9] Some authorities read here "those *holy* persons," &c., on which the Benedictine Editor remarks that this is implied in the words *among us;* and he adds that "the Church does not pray for any but those who die in her communion, and whom she supposes to have fallen asleep in grace and holiness."

On the reasons for which the Church prayed for the holy dead, and on the form and language of those prayers, and on the persons for whom she prayed, see the excellent remarks of Bingham, Antiquities, book xv. chapter iii. sections 15 and 16. The ancient prayers for the *faithful dead* afford a strong argument against the dogma of Purgatory. They also supply proofs of belief in the soul's immortality, and in the repose of Paradise, and in future Resurrection, Judgment, and Life Everlasting. Cp. Neale, Eastern Church, i. p. 509; Neander, iii. 446; Canon Luckock, "After death," p. 103.

[1] In his exposition of the Lord's Prayer here, S. Cyril interprets ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ by "deliver us from the Evil One."

[2] τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, p. 332.

[3] Concil. Trullan. can. 101, says "in the form of a cross."

[4] In every ancient Liturgy all the communicants are supposed to partake of the Cup as well as of the Bread.

The student of the Ancient Liturgies will find the requisite materials

Digitized by Google

"Wait then for the prayers; and thank God for having vouchsafed to admit you to such holy mysteries as these. Never cut yourselves off from communion; never deprive yourselves of these holy and spiritual mysteries by impurity of life. And may the God of peace sanctify you wholly, and may your body, soul, and spirit be preserved whole in the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,[5] to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory, honour, and power, now and for evermore. *Amen.*"

Even in the worst times of the Church, such as those of Constantius, Julian, and Valens, the power and love of God—which worked by the Incarnation of His Co-eternal and Consubstantial Son, assuming the Nature of Man, and making that Nature to be a partaker of the Divine Nature[6] by uniting it to God in His own Person; and which operated by the virtue of God the Holy Ghost, applying to each individual member of Christ's mystical Body the Church, the blessings flowing from the Love of the Father through the Incarnation of God the Son, in the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, and in the Holy Scriptures read in the Church, and in the public prayers of her Liturgy, and especially in the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ—were gradually and quietly leavening human Society, and

in a compendious form in Daniel's Codex Liturgicus, Lips. 1853. The ancient Eastern Liturgies may be seen in Dr. Neale's learned work on the Eastern Church, 2 vols. 1850, and they were printed by him in a small volume, Lond. 1859.

[5] 1 Thess. v. 23.

[6] 2 Pet. i. 4.

Digitized by Google

were promoting its moral and spiritual regeneration.

We do not possess any circumstantial representations of daily Christian life in the fourth century; but we may believe that such doctrine as that which is set forth in the earlier part of the third century in the works of the great Alexandrine Teacher, Clement,[7] applying the verities of Christianity as taught in the Holy Scriptures and Sacraments to inculcate the duties of daily life, cannot have failed of being fruitful, by divine grace, in producing a beneficent change in human Society.

In nothing were the blessings of the doctrine of the Incarnation, as exhibited in the ministration of the Church, more visible in social respects, than in the elevation of Womanhood, dignified and consecrated by the Birth of the Son of God from the Blessed Virgin Mary, by the operation of the Holy Ghost. The virtues and graces of Christian Womanhood shone to the eye of God and His holy Angels in quietness, gentleness, and peace, and were not subjects for this world's history.

In the fourth century Celibacy was held in honour, especially among the Clergy. It was true that Hebrew Prophets and Priests were married; and that St. Paul[8] had said "Marriage is honourable in all;" and he, who praised single life (1 Cor. vii.), had condemned those who "forbade to marry,"[9] and speaks of the qualifications of Priests and Deacons as husbands and parents, and masters of families (1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 12. Titus i. 6). And it was a primitive tradition derived

[7] See above, vol. i. pp. 254, 266, 268.
[8] Heb. xiii. 4, with Chrysostom's note. [9] 1 Tim. iv. 3.

Digitized by Google

from St. Paul's words[1] that not only St. Peter[2] but other Apostles were married.[3]

In the 5th of the Apostolic Canons[4] it was decreed that "no Bishop, Priest, or Deacon should put away his wife on the pretence of religion; and if he did so, he was to be deposed."

The opinion of the Egyptian Bishop and Confessor Paphnutius on this subject at the Council of Nicæa —and the judgment of the Fathers of the Council itself upon it—have been already recorded.[5] They saw that there was a tendency in some quarters to impose celibacy as a rule on Bishops and Clergy—a tendency which had strongly developed itself not only among various schools of Gnosticism, but among the Montanists and Novatians. But the Church up to that time had resisted it. The same struggle manifested itself at Gangra, as we have seen,[6] where the Council was animated with the same spirit as that which had prevailed at Nicæa.

Gregory Nazianzen eulogizes the piety and holiness of his mother Nonna, in the funeral oration on

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 5.

[2] Cp. Mark i. 30; Luke iv. 38. St. Peter's wife was cheered by him in her way to martyrdom. Clemens ap. Euseb. iii. 30, where it is said that Peter had children by her.

[3] Cp. Basil in Ascet. Serm. de abdicatione rerum; Origen in Rom. xii.; Chrysostom de Compunctione, lib. i. c. 8; Pseud-Ignat. in Philad. c. 4, with the note of Cotelerius; and Beveridge, Synod. Annotat. ii. p. 18.

[4] P. 442, ed. Coteler. Amst. 1724, and Beveridge, Synod. i. p. 3, where Balsamon, the Canonist of Constantinople and Patriarch of Antioch in the 12th century, says that "before the Sixth Synod in Trullo (A.D. 692) it was lawful for Bishops to have wives even after their elevation to the Episcopal dignity, as Priests and Deacons who are ordained after marriage."

[5] Above, vol. i. p. 457.

[6] Above, p. 244.

Digitized by Google

his father,[7] and represents her as a pattern of Christian womanhood, and chooses for special commendation the virtues which she displayed as the wife[8] of the Bishop of Nazianzus, his father, whom she survived.[9]

For "the present distress"[1] Celibacy had special recommendations for Bishops and Clergy in the first four centuries; and it is not surprising that the Fathers of that time should for that reason, as well as for others, have been enthusiastic in its praise.

But they were no less eloquent in their panegyrics of Christian Marriage,[2] and of Christian Womanhood They loved to dwell on the dignity which Woman had acquired by the Incarnation, and on the benefits rendered by Women to the Church, which took care to enlist their services in her works of piety and charity —especially in her organized societies of Virgins, Deaconesses, and Widows. In the Christian Church, and in its Ministry, no less than among the Patriarchs and Prophets, "neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man, in the Lord;"[3] and the history of the early Church shows how intimately the condition of that Ministry has been connected with Womanhood, and how much it has been influenced by sound teaching with respect to it.

[7] Greg. Naz. Orat. xviii.

[8] Ibid. c. 21, p. 343, and Henry Wharton on the Celibacy of the Clergy, Lond. 1688, and Dr. J. F. Von Schulte, Coelibatszwang, 1876.

[9] On the Marriage of the Clergy, see Bingham, Antiquities, iv. 5. 5—8.

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 26.

[2] One of the sternest of the Fathers, Tertullian, is the most eloquent on Marriage. See above, vol. i. 331.

[3] 1 Cor. xi. 11.

Digitized by Google

With reference to the work of Christ and of the Church in the relations of social life, the records of the fourth and fifth centuries suggest two remarks relevant to the subject before us:

First, wherever the blessings of the Incarnation were *not* realized in its relation to Womanhood—as was unhappily the case with Arianism—there we see Women in high place taking the lead in patronizing error, and in persecuting the truth. It may suffice, in evidence of this, to mention Constantia, the sister of Constantine, and friend of Arius; Aurelia Eusebia, the second wife of Constantius; Albia Dominica, the wife of Valens; Justina, the second wife of Valentinian—all these were partisans of Arianism, and enemies of the Church.

But, secondly, there is a brighter side of the picture, on which the eye loves to dwell. There was scarcely any great Saint and Teacher of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, especially among those who contended valiantly for the mystery of God Incarnate, in good report and in evil report, and against the heresy of Arianism in its various phases of error, who was not cheered and strengthened by the love of Christian Womanhood. I omit Athanasius, unless credit be given to the story related by some concerning him in his exile in the desert.[4] Like the prophet Jeremiah—but unlike the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, who were married—he seems to have been independent of female sympathy. His fellow-champion S. Hilary appears to have been married,[5] and to have had a beloved daughter, Abra.

[4] Sozom. v. 6. Palladius, Hist. Lausiaca, c. 135, on the asylum said to have been given to Athanasius for six years by a Christian Virgin.

[5] Tillemont, vii. 435, 448.

Digitized by Google

The virtues and acts of S. Basil of Cæsarea were due in no small degree, under God, to the influence of his mother, grandmother, and sister.[6] His brother, Gregory of Nyssa, was supported by the tender affection of Theosebia.[7] Their friend Gregory Nazianzen has immortalized with affectionate enthusiasm and glowing eloquence the piety and virtues of his own mother Nonna,[8] and sister Gorgonia.[9] We should have known little of the Episcopate of the great Bishop of Milan, S. Ambrose, if he had not revealed the secrets of his heart, and communicated the motives and results of his public acts, in familiar letters to his sister Marcellina at Rome. The lonely labours of S. Jerome, translating the Holy Scriptures, commenting on the sacred Oracles, and defending the Christian faith in his cloister at Bethlehem, were refreshed by the companionship of Paula and Eustochium. His adversary Rufinus found consolation in the society of Melania. S. Augustine became what he was, by the prayers of his mother Monica. The greatest preacher of the Eastern Church, S. John Chrysostom, owed much of his power, under God, as a Christian

[6] Above, pp. 233, 234.

[7] Some suppose that Theosebia was the wife of Gregory Nyssen. This is the opinion of Cardinal Baronius, Annal. ad ann. 369, and of Tillemont, tom. ix. p. 733. Nicephorus also (ix. 19) says that he was married. She is called his *σύζυγος* by Gregory Nazianzen in his consolatory Epistle to Gregory Nyssen on her death (Epist. 197, p. 162), and in his funeral inscription upon her, Carm. 123, p. 1159. The Benedictine Editors of Gregory Nazianzen's works, vol. i. Præf. p. xxvi, and vol. ii. p. 1159, are of opinion that she was unmarried, and that she is called his *σύζυγος*, or *yoke-fellow*, because she was either a sister by blood, or spiritually as a deaconess of the Church, of Gregory Nyssen; but the word *σύζυγος* applied to a *woman* seems to point to a *wife*.

[8] Greg. Naz. Orat. xviii. See below, chap. ix.

[9] Greg. Naz. Orat. viii. Cp. Neander, Church Hist. vol. iii. sect. 3, p. 304, Engl. Transl.

Digitized by Google

orator, to the early training in Holy Scripture which he received from his widowed mother Anthusa. And when he was banished by the princes of this world, and was forsaken and condemned by some of his brethren in the Church, in times of sorrow and sickness, in the land of his dreary exile where he died, he found comfort in the interchange of letters with his dear daughter in Christ, the devout, noble, and loving Olympias.[1]

[1] Sozom. viii. 9 and 24. Pallad. Vit. Chrys. c. 15. There are seventeen letters extant, written by Chrysostom to Olympias in the time of his banishment.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IX.

From the Accession of Theodosius the Great, Jan. 19, A.D. 379, *as Emperor of the East, to the Council of Constantinople, May to July* 9, A.D. 381.

LIKE the six preceding Emperors,[1] with the exception of Jovian and Valentinian, Valens died childless. Gratian, the elder of the two sons of Valentinian, had, at his father's death, associated with himself his half-brother, Valentinian junior, in 375, aged only four years, in the Empire of the West.

At the death of Valens the northern frontier of the East was menaced by the Goths, elated by their recent victory at Adrianople; and Gratian, who was not twenty years of age, and was fully occupied with the cares of his own Western dominions, was conscious of his inability to encounter the difficulties which awaited a successor of Valens in the East, and to restore the shaken confidence of the people, and to revive their spirit, broken by their recent disorder and defeat.

When therefore he was at Sirmium, on January 19, 379, he associated with himself Theodosius, a Christian soldier of Spanish extraction, a descendant of the Emperor Trajan, and resembling him in features. Theodosius was then in his thirty-third year, living a quiet life in Spain, in the enjoyment of

[1] Constantine junior, Constans, Constantius, Julian.

Digitized by Google

domestic happiness with his wife Flaccilla and their young children. He had been already distinguished by military skill, and by success in his conflicts with the barbarians[2] in Mœsia; and Gratian owed him a debt of reparation for the wrong done in the murder of his father Theodosius, one of the most loyal subjects and valiant captains of the Empire, who had been put to death on a false accusation at Carthage in A.D. 376.[3] Gratian assigned to Theodosius as Emperor the whole of the East, with Thrace and Eastern Illyria, and Greece, of which Thessalonica was the capital.

At Constantinople, Arianism had been dominant for forty years. Eusebius of Nicomedia had been followed by Macedonius, Macedonius by Eudoxius, and Eudoxius by Demophilus, formerly Bishop of Berœa in Thrace, who had tempted Liberius to his fall, and who had held the See of Constantinople for ten years, having succeeded Eudoxius in A.D. 369.

Albia Dominica, the widow of Valens, was a zealous partisan of Arians, Novatians, and of Macedonians, who accepted the doctrine of the Son's divinity, and ranged themselves with the Semi-Arians, but who denied the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. They derived their name from the former Bishop of Constantinople, Macedonius; and they were allowed to have their own places of religious assembly, but at the accession of Theodosius there was no organized con-

[2] Theodoret, v. 5. Ammianus Marcellinus says (xxix. ad fin.), "Dux Mœsiæ Theodosius primâ lanugine juvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus, fortissimè turbas confluentes oppressit."

[3] Socrates (iv. 9) says, by order of Valens, when he put to death those whose names began with THEOD. See above, pp. 213, 273. Others impute his murder to Gratian himself. See the authorities in Gibbon, chap. xxvi. vol. iv. pp. 421, 422.

Digitized by Google

gregation of Catholics in the Christian city founded by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, and the Capital of the Eastern Empire.

The question then arose, Who would be able to gather these scattered sheep into a spiritual fold? He ought to be one who was already a Bishop, for no one now at Constantinople could restore the Episcopate there. He ought to be well reported of for sanctity of life, soundness of doctrine, vigour of intellect; mighty in the Scriptures, gifted with eloquence, able to refute with boldness and power the Arian adversaries, and to raise up the prostrate Church of Constantinople to the position it had formerly occupied under the Episcopal care of the noble-hearted Confessor, Alexander, when he withstood Arius, though supported by Constantine; and of the saintly Paul, who resisted Eusebius of Nicomedia, backed by Constantius, and who had opposed Macedonius, intruded by the same Emperor in A.D. 351, and at last died a martyr for the faith.

There was one person who seemed to satisfy these conditions, and to be pointed out for the work. This was Gregory Nazianzen, who was now living in retirement. He had been dwelling for three years in a monastery at Seleucia in Isauria,[4] the south-east corner of Asia Minor, a few miles to the west of the Cilician Tarsus, the birth-place of St. Paul the Apostle. He had been the bosom friend of Basil, the great Confessor of the faith, who had died a few days before the accession of Theodosius. He was already a Bishop, having been consecrated by Basil to the See of Sasima, and had administered the affairs of the Church of Nazianzus as coadjutor to his father

[4] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. 549; Epist. lxxxvii. clxxxii.

Digitized by Google

Gregory, Bishop of that place. He was about four years older than Basil, and now probably in his fifty-fourth year. He was also eminent for theological learning, and was distinguished by marvellous gifts of eloquence, displayed especially in such grand orations as that which he had delivered soon after his ordination,[5] A.D. 361, on the qualifications necessary for the office of a Priest in the Church of God. Other sermons which had been preached by Gregory at Nazianzus had displayed his intellectual powers and oratorical gifts, and also his deep feelings of sympathy. His discourses on the sufferings of the population in consequence of a succession of hail-storms may be compared with his friend Basil's homily on dearth and drought,[6] and may supply profitable thoughts in times of agricultural distress.

His tender and loving disposition was seen in the terms of affection with which he speaks of his mother, a person of "masculine courage, blended with woman's tenderness,"[7] and who instilled into her children the piety she had received from her parents, and vowed him to God's service as a second Samuel

[5] A summary of it may be seen in the valuable article on Gregory Nazianzen by Archdeacon Watkins, Prof. Wace's Dictionary, i. p. 745. The Benedictine Editor of Gregory's works (p. 10) compares with this oration Chrysostom's work "De Sacerdotio," and Gregory the Great, "De Curâ Pastorali," who there refers to Gregory Nazianzen. The English reader will remember the parallel to it in Bishop Bull's Sermon "On the difficulty and danger of the Priest's office," Sermon vi. p. 137.

The Benedictine edition of S. Gregory's works, 2 vols. folio, of which the first volume appeared at Paris in 1778, and the second not till 1842, is a worthy sequel of the editions of Athanasius, Basil, and Chrysostom, for which the Church is indebted to that learned French Brotherhood —some of them friends of our own Bentley.

[6] Basil, tom. ii. p. 62.

[7] See Greg. Naz. Carm. Hist. i. 118. Gregory's historical poems, which are principally autobiographical, form the Second Part of his Poetical Works in the Benedictine edition, vol. ii. pp. 630 – 996, ed. Paris. 1840.

Digitized by Google

from his birth,[8] and consecrated him to the study of God's Holy Word,[9] as the most precious of all earthly treasures.

A similar spirit showed itself in his funeral sermons on his sister Gorgonia,[1] and on his brother Cæsarius,[2] the celebrated physician of Constantinople, who had stood firm against the solicitations of the Emperor Julian, pressing him to retain the honours and emoluments of the Court. In that sermon the preacher speaks in words of comfort to his mourning father, the aged Bishop of Nazianzus, and to his mother Nonna, concerning his brother, their departed son, Cæsarius. "I am convinced by the words of the wise," he says, "that every beautiful and God-loving soul, as soon as it is loosed from the bonds of the body to which it has been tied on earth, and departs hence, forthwith has a sight and taste of the bliss that awaits it, and is filled with marvellous delight, and exults with joy; and has also imaginative fruition of the blessedness in store for it; and that soon afterwards it will receive again the body with which it has been connate on earth, and with which it has philosophized concerning the things of hereafter. That self-same body will be raised from the earth, to which it has been committed, and which will give it up (at the resurrection) in a manner which God knows, Who joined the soul and body together, and severed the one from the other by death. And then the soul will inherit heavenly glory together with the body. And as the body was a partner with the soul in the sorrows of this life, so it will be a sharer with the soul in the joys of the life immortal."

To these utterances of pious affection may be

[8] Greg. Naz. Carm. *v.* 425.
[9] Ibid. 440.
[1] Greg. Orat. viii.
[2] Ibid. vii.

Digitized by Google

added his funeral oration on his father, the Bishop of Nazianzus,[3] who had been mainly instrumental in promoting the election of Basil to the Archiepiscopal See of Cæsarea,[4] and was more than a hundred years old at the time of his death. This oration was delivered by Gregory, in the presence of his widowed mother Nonna, and of his friend Basil, in a magnificent Church which had been built at Nazianzus by his father, chiefly at his own expense; the description of which is given minutely by Gregory,[5] and may be interesting to Church architects. It was an octagon,[6] and had two tiers of porches and columns, surmounted by life-like statues, and was lighted from above. It seems to have been in a form very well suited for preaching, and was probably not the less pleasing to Gregory himself on that account.

Gregory was called to Constantinople by the invitation of the faithful in that city, sanctioned by the voice of the Church, speaking by some of her Bishops.[7] Peter, successor of Athanasius at Alexandria, encouraged him to listen to the call, which he accepted in A.D. 379, with much misgiving as to his own qualifications for the enterprise. He set forth, however, strong in that faith which he expressed in

[3] Orat. xviii. [4] Ibid. p. 357, and see above, p. 238. [5] P. 359.

[6] The Church erected by Constantine at Antioch was also an octagon, Euseb. v. c. iii. 50; that of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem was round, Bingham, viii. 3; that of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople was cruciform—probably a Greek Cross, Greg. Naz. Carm. xvi. *v.* 60, p. 847. S. Basil's brother, Gregory Nyssen, gives in one of his letters (Epist. 25, ed. Migne, p. 1095) a very circumstantial and interesting description of a church constructed by himself in the form of a Cross, and yet in a certain sense *octagonal*, by reason of the two angles in each of the four ends of the cross—ἔγκειται τῷ σταυρῷ κύκλος ὀκτὼ γωνίαις διειλημμένος. Cp. Gibbon, vol. iii. chap. xx. p. 292, on ancient churches.

[7] Greg. Naz. Carm. "On his own life," xi. 858, Opera, ii. p. 718.

Digitized by Google

his prayer: "O divine Word, it is on Thee that I rest; with Thee I awake, and with Thee is my lying down and mine uprising; for Thee I go forth on my journeys, and under Thy protection and guidance. Send forth one of Thine angels to lead me with a pillar of fire and cloud in my pilgrimage,[8] and make this my rough and steep road to be smooth and easy to Thy servant." In his Vow offered to the Divine Logos[9] at the same period, "I swear," he says, "by the Word Himself—Who to me is the Mighty God, the Beginning from the Beginning, the Almighty Father, and Equal to the Father. May Christ be unpropitious to me, if I ever separate the Persons of the Glorious Trinity; or if I am ambitious of the throne of pre-eminence, or prefer the arm of flesh to God, or am guilty of pride, or hatred, or injustice, or of intemperate language, or of unkindness to the poor, or if I rejoice in my enemy's fall."

Happily Gregory had some relatives at Constantinople who received him hospitably, and placed a part of their house at his disposal. And since all the Churches in the city were then occupied by heretics, he converted this into a Chapel, which he called *Anastasia*, as the place of the *Resurrection* of the Faith at Constantinople, after its burial there for forty years.[1] His fancy loved to disport itself in playful similes of holy affection for this dear abode, this harbour of peace amid the storms of strife in the

[8] See the poem in Greg. Naz. ii. 667, entitled "Itinerary to Constantinople."

[9] Carm. ii. p. 665.

[1] See his Verses to "Anastasia," Carm. v. p. 669, *v.* 4, "Who by living words didst raise up the ancient faith, slain by deadly words" (i. e. of false doctrine).

Digitized by Google

great city. It was to him "the Ark of Noah" in the flood;[2] the Christian "Shiloh,"[3] where the Ark of the Covenant rested after its forty years' wanderings; it was the "Shunammite's house," where the prophet of the Lord was entertained and sheltered by domestic piety and love; it was even another Bethlehem,[4] where Christ was spiritually born in the hearts of the faithful.

This modest "Anastasia" of Gregory soon became more famous than the Cathedral of S. Sophia, and than the imperial Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. It was thronged by devout worshippers, who rejoiced to hear once more the preaching of those Catholic truths—especially the Godhead of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity—which had been banished from the city during the reign of Valens, and since the accession of Constantius.

The crowds which flocked from without, and pressed from within, the Church, to hear the voice of the preacher proclaiming those verities of the Gospel, and the orderly arrangement of its Priests, seated on each side of the Bishop, and the Deacons in their "shining vestments," and the goodly companies of "chaste virgins and grave matrons" in their proper places in the Church, not only cheered and delighted him by day, but haunted his dreams by night.[5] He began his work at Constantinople by a message of Peace.[6] "God," says he, "specially rejoices in revealing Himself to the world as Love.[7] We who worship Him Who

[2] Greg. Carm. xi. 1081.

[3] Orat. xlii. p. 766.

[4] Carm. xvi. 62.

[5] See his Poem entitled "Dream on Anastasia," Carm. xvi. p. 843; cp. Carm. xv. *v.* 49.

[6] See his two orations entitled εἰρηνικοί, Orat. xxii. and xxiii. pp. 415—434.

[7] 1 John iv. 16.

Digitized by Google

is Love, why do we hate one another? We who preach peace, why do we wage war? We who adore Him Who is the Rock and the Corner Stone, why are we shaken and distracted by strifes? Our discords are the enemy's triumphs. Our tragedies are their comedies. However, through good report and evil report, I will remain always the same. We who are Catholics, let us prove that we are so, by sound doctrine and brotherly love."

In dealing with the mysteries of the Faith, he deprecated curious speculation. "Thou hearest of the Son's Generation,[8] and of the Holy Spirit's Procession from the Father; do not pry inquisitively into the *manner* of this Generation and of that Procession. If thou dost, then I may also pry inquisitively into the manner of the union of thy soul and body, and ask, '*How* art thou thyself dust, and yet the image of God? What is it that moves thee, and what is that which is moved in thee? How does thy mind dwell in thee, and produce words in the mind of another? How is thought imparted by sounds? And if thou dost not comprehend the nature of visible things, such as sky and sea, and how they exist, why dost thou pry curiously into the manner of the being of God?'"

Gregory did not begin with controversial preaching. His mission, as we have said, was a mission of peace. His message was a message of love.[9] At the same time, he did not disguise from his hearers that there can be no true Peace which is not built upon Truth.

He therefore next proceeded to deliver a series of sermons on "Theology." He declared that holiness of life is the only path to divine knowledge.

[8] Orat. xx. p. 38.

[9] Orat. xxii. xxiii. On Peace.

Digitized by Google

"Wouldest thou become a theologian? keep the commandments. Holy practice is the ladder to heavenly contemplation."[1] He told his hearers that the popular gossip at Constantinople on religious subjects, mingled in a grotesque and fantastic medley with familiar talk in saloons and boudoirs and at dinner-tables, at concerts and at operas,[2] concerning the races in the circus, or the plays in the theatre, could never lead any one to real knowledge of sacred Truth, and still less to a deep sense of its awful grandeur and divine beauty. "What is the use," he asked, "of speaking on the mysteries of the Incarnation to people whose minds are tainted by vicious indulgence? Every one nowadays aspires to be a theologian. But men and women had better begin with doing good works; with taming their own passions, and regulating their own lives. In order that the mind may be clear, the heart must be clean. If we desire to know the truth and to understand divine things, why do we let loose our tongues in talking, and tie our hands from working? Why —if we must talk—do we not talk about mutual love—love of the brethren, love of husbands and wives; holy virginity, care for the poor? Why do we not practise the singing of psalms, and nightly vigils, and penitential tears, and fasting? Why do we not go forth in our souls soaring upwards from our bodies in holy communion with God?"[3]

He proceeds to show that man is unable of him-

[1] *βούλει θεολόγος γίγνεσθαι; τὰς ἐντολὰς φύλασσε· πρᾶξις ἐπίβασις θεωρίας.* This sentence is in Orat. xx. p. 383, which is preliminary to those on Theology, but expresses the meaning here.

[2] Orat. xxvii. pp. 488, 489. Cp. his autobiographical Poem, *v.* 1215—1225, p. 739.

[3] P. 492.

Digitized by Google

self to discover divine truth; he cannot by his own powers solve the problem of his own existence, and of that of the creatures around him. Man needs revelation from God for the discernment of spiritual things. God is also seen in His works.[4] The animal creation, the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea; fruits, flowers, trees, and minerals; the sky, sun, moon and stars; the wind, the lightning and earthquakes; Men and Angels, and Archangels; all these are Preachers of God."

He then appeals to Holy Scripture, and establishes from it the true faith, in opposition to the errors which depraved it, and which were propagated by Arius and his followers.

"If the Son and Holy Spirit are co-eternal with the Father," say the objectors, "how are they not without an ἀρχὴ or beginning?" The reason, replies Gregory, is because they are *from* the Father in origin, but are not *after* the Father in *time*. As to their cause, they are not without an ἀρχὴ or principle, but the cause is not necessarily prior to that of which it is a cause. The Sun is the cause of its rays, but the Sun's rays are not posterior in time to the Sun.

He states the objections to the Catholic faith concerning the Divine Person of the Son, and confutes them.[5]

"The Son of God exists above you, and existed before you. What He was from eternity, that He still remains—God. But what He was not before, that He is now—Man. As God He was without a cause. But His Manhood has a cause—the salvation of your souls."[6]

[4] P. 513. [5] Orat. xxx. [6] P. 537.

Digitized by Google

The two natures of Christ, Very God and Very Man, in one Person, are described in language which may remind us of that of S. Hippolytus.[7] "Christ was baptized as Man,[8] but took away our sins as God. He was baptized, not that He needed cleansing, but in order to sanctify water, that we might be cleansed by it.[9] He suffered hunger,[1] and fed thousands, and is the living Bread. He suffered thirst, and said, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.' He suffered weariness, and said, 'Come unto Me, all ye that are weary, and I will give you rest.' He was called 'a Samaritan,' and 'a Devil;' but He was the good Samaritan Who succoured the wounded traveller; and He cast out devils, and is feared by them. He prays, and hears prayer. He weeps, and wipes away tears. He was sold for thirty pieces of silver, and has bought the world with His blood. He was nailed to the tree and died, and gives us life immortal by death on the tree. He gave up the ghost, and laid down His life, and has power to take it again.[2] He died, and gives us life by His death, and destroys death thereby. He descended to Hades, and brought up souls from it. He rose again, and ascended into heaven, and will come again to judge the quick and dead." Gregory concludes with a prayer for the heretics whom he is refuting.

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 298.

[8] P. 538.

[9] Gregory's doctrine on the Sacrament of Baptism may be seen clearly expressed in his Oration on Baptism, Orat. xl. tom. i. p. 691, and in his Carmen xii. *v.* 449, 476, p. 803, where he says that baptism is the cleansing away of sins, but not the total abolition of evil τρόπος, and is the purgation of sins we *have* committed, but not of sins which *we commit.*

[1] John iv. 6; v. 41; vii. 37; xiv. 21; xix. 28. Matt. xi. 28.

[2] John x. 18.

Digitized by Google

He reserved as the subject for the fifth and last of this series of discourses on Theology,[3] the doctrine of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. He shows that the Holy Spirit is not, according to the Sabellians, merely an accident or quality of the Godhead; but that He is a Person Who acts, and He is a divine Person, because we are to be baptized into His Name as well as into the Person of the Father and of the Son; and if the Father and Son are divine Persons (as the Macedonians themselves acknowledged), so is the Holy Ghost.

The Macedonians replied, that if the Holy Spirit is God, He must have been either begotten or not. If He has not been begotten, then (they said) there are two fountains of Godhead; and if He has been begotten, He has been generated either by the Father or by the Son. If by the Father, then the Father has two Sons. If by the Son, then the Holy Spirit is Grandson to the Father.

But Gregory denies the premisses. The Holy Spirit is not begotten of the Father or the Son, but, as the Scripture teaches, He proceeds from the Father. In that He was not begotten, He is not a Son; in that He proceeds eternally from the Father, He is God. What the *manner* of this eternal procession is, can no more be explained than the manner of the eternal generation of the Son from the Father.

The Old Testament[4] (he says) spake more clearly of the Father than of the Son. The New Testament spake more clearly of the Son till the time of His Ascension, when He sent the Holy Spirit from heaven to abide for ever with His Church; and the Holy Spirit now shows Himself by His working in His

[3] Orat. xxxi.

[4] Orat. xxi. p. 572.

Digitized by Google

Church, and by that working, and by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, He shows Himself to be God. And thus (by these distinct and successive revelations) we are brought to behold the full glory of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, Three distinct Divine Persons, co-equal, consubstantial, and eternal, in One God.

These orations obtained for Gregory the title of ὁ θεολόγος, "*the Theologian.*" This honourable designation was due in considerable degree to the peculiar character of the time in which he delivered them. If the circumstances had been the same in the days of S. Athanasius, or of S. Basil, either of them might have preoccupied that title, and have been recognized as *the Theologian* of the Church. Gregory was called upon to wage war against the Macedonians at Constantinople, where their leader had occupied the Archiepiscopal See. The *Pneumatomachi*, as they were called, "the enemies of the Holy Spirit," were, in a certain sense, though against their will, instrumental in procuring for Gregory that illustrious title of the *Theologian*, by his victory over them; which not only gained for the Church the explicit declaration of the true faith in the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, but also by a necessary consequence consummated her theological system, revealed from the beginning in Holy Scripture and believed by the faithful, but not as yet formulated and promulgated by her in her Creed, in the acknowledgment of the Glory of the Eternal Trinity, and in the worship of the Divine Unity.

"We avoid," he says,[5] "all contentious distractions and excesses of reaction in doctrine; we neither Sabellianize against the Three Persons, and destroy their distinct personality, by means of an heretical

[5] Orat. xlii. p. 759.

Digitized by Google

Unity; nor do we Arianize against the Divine Unity by means of three unequal Persons, and destroy that Unity by an heretical Diversity. We do not try to cure one disease by another; but we walk in the middle and royal way between the two extremes. We believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of the same substance, and equal in Glory, in Whom Baptism is consummated both in word and deed. We confess the Unity in substance, and in equal participation of worship; and we confess also the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in three *hypostases* or *persons*—either of those two terms being allowable." [6]

Gregory also delivered at Constantinople two orations very seasonable for the time; one on the Maccabees, probably on their festival, August 1,[7] the day on which they are commemorated in the Greek Church. The triumphs of holy valour and faith in those noble Confessors of the ancient Hebrew Church, Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, in their struggle against Antiochus Epiphanes, and the cleansing and restoration of the Temple by them after its desecration, offered a magnificent theme for his splendid eloquence at that crisis, when he himself was engaged in a similar work at Constantinople.[8]

The second oration was on Athanasius,[9] to which

[6] Cp. his oration on Athanasius, Orat. xxi. p. 410.

[7] It is to be regretted that the observance of this Festival of the Maccabees, which is still maintained in the Greek and Latin Churches, has not been continued in the Anglican Churches. Such a festival would be very suggestive of many salutary teachings, warnings, and encouragements in these latter days.

[8] May I be permitted to refer to two Sermons on the Maccabees with reference to the Christian Church and the Church of England, preached by me at Cambridge and published in 1871?

[9] Orat. xxi. Probably delivered on his festival, May 2, A.D. 379 or 380.

Digitized by Google

some references have been already made.[1] The description of the conflicts of Athanasius for the faith during forty-seven years, and of his triumphal entry into Alexandria after his long battle for it, could hardly fail to have a special interest for Gregory's audience as well as for Gregory himself.[2]

S. Jerome, now about thirty-four years of age, the friend of Pope Damasus, and of Paullinus the Bishop of Antioch, who was favoured by the Westerns (as Meletius was by the Easterns), and by whom he was admitted to the priesthood, was now at Constantinople, and he was among the hearers and scholars of Gregory at this time. "I glory and exult" (he said afterwards) "in such a master as that. I was trained in the study of the Holy Scripture by that holy man, who was then Bishop of that city; one of the most eloquent of mortals."[3]

But all did not go on smoothly. Gregory was shy and reserved in his manner, fond of seclusion, abstemious, severe, and ascetic; he had not personal gifts for winning popular influence. His Arian enemies, who were devoted to their own Bishop Demophilus, took advantage of his gentleness, and misinterpreted his teaching.[4] He was mobbed and

[1] See above, pp. 29, 108, 222.

[2] A third oration of Gregory, namely, "On S. Cyprian" (Orat. xxiv.), has been connected by some with the name of the martyred Archbishop of Carthage, but it seems rather to refer to another Cyprian (of Antioch, who suffered at Nicomedia; see the Benedictine note, p. 437; Tillemont, ix. p. 712; Bp. Benson in Wace's Dict. i. 755). It is true that Gregory speaks of his birth at Carthage, and of his suffering persecution under Decius—incidents which do not suit the other Cyprian; but, as we have already seen (on Hippolytus, chap. ix.), Easterns had not always very clear notions of Western Church History.

[3] S. Jerome, Scr. Eccl. 117 in Esaiam vi.

[4] See his autobiographical Poem, Carm. xi. 650—720, on the treatment he received from them at Constantinople.

Digitized by Google

pelted at in the streets.[5] They charged him with bringing back polytheism; his chapel was attacked and desecrated; he was even brought before a magistrate for causing a riot in which he himself was almost a victim, and narrowly escaped assassination.[6]

But there were worse troubles from within. One of his own congregation worked more mischief than any of his Arian enemies. This was Maximus, the Cynic philosopher,[7] an Egyptian, who had been ordained to the priesthood, and who made professions of superior sanctity by a semblance of self-mortification, and pretended to have received wounds for his valiant confession of the faith in persecution. He seems to have had some literary merits and theological knowledge. S. Jerome[8] says that Maximus "wrote a remarkable book on faith against the Arians, which he presented to the Emperor Gratian at Milan." Maximus was an assiduous attendant on Gregory's preaching, and was enthusiastic in his admiration of his eloquence;[9] he was admitted to his house and his table, his studies and his counsels; and so fully did he gain his confidence, that Gregory even made him the subject of a panegyric in one of his orations to his people.[1]

[5] Ibid. and Carm. xv. 11. Cp. Hefele, Concilien-Geschichte, ii. p. 2; and for the history generally, his Abhandlung über Gregor. von Nazianz. in Wetzer's Kirchenlexicon, iv. 736.

[6] Orat. xxiii. xxxv.; Epist. lxxvii.; Carm. xi. 1445—74.

[7] For a description of Maximus, and of the arts by which he tried to supplant Gregory, see Gregory's autobiographical Poem, *v.* 750—980, p. 713.

[8] S. Jerome, Scr. Eccl. 127.

[9] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. 814.

[1] Orat. xxv. p. 451, "In laudem Heronis philosophi." S. Jerome Scr. Eccl. 117. Jerome (the scholar of Gregory at Constantinople) asserts that this oration was an eulogy on Maximus.

Digitized by Google

In the mean time Maximus was undermining Gregory, and scheming for his own advancement. The Emperor Theodosius was expected at Constantinople. No Catholic Bishop had been consecrated to its see. Gregory was too modest to claim that honour for himself. Why should not Maximus (he bethought himself), trading upon Gregory's collaudation of him, and on the recommendation he had by some means or other obtained from Gregory's own friend,[2] Peter of Alexandria, the successor of Athanasius, present himself to the Emperor as Bishop designate of Constantinople? But how was he to be consecrated, and where? He summoned some friends, five suffragans of Peter from Alexandria, and watching his opportunity, at night, when Gregory was ill in bed, Maximus procured himself to be consecrated Bishop of Constantinople in Gregory's own chapel, Anastasia.

But he had miscalculated his influence. The Catholics rose up against him in a body; he fled from Constantinople, and hastened to make an appeal to the Emperor, who was at Thessalonica.

Theodosius had been detained there for a short time by illness. He profited by his sickness, and by the counsel of Ascholius,[3] the venerable Bishop of that city, the friend of S. Basil and S. Ambrose, and received baptism[4] at his hands; he was soon restored

[2] Greg. Carm. xi. *v.* 858, 1015. Theodoret, v. 8, says that it was Timotheus, the successor of Peter, who favoured Maximus. Peter died about this time.

[3] The etymology of this Bishop's name is doubtful. It is written diversely in the MSS. (Ascholius, Acholius, Ascolius). It may be from σχολή, χολή, or σκολιός. In the beautiful portrait of him by S. Ambrose (Epist. 16) he is called Acholius.

[4] Socr. v. 6. Sozom. vii. 4.

Digitized by Google

to health, and gained some victories over the Goths in Macedonia.

At Thessalonica he put forth an edict, dated February 27, A.D. 380, addressed to the people of Constantinople, in which he declared his belief in the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in equal Majesty and divine Trinity; and commanded that the name of Catholic Christians should be applied only to those who held that faith, and expressed his desire that all his subjects should follow that faith as taught by Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria.[5] He put forth another edict at the same place on March 27, in which he ordered that criminal proceedings should not be instituted in Lent.

Maximus[6] met Theodosius, who was on his route from Thessalonica, attended by Ascholius, to Constantinople. Theodosius had more shrewdness than Gregory. He told Ascholius to inquire into the case, and to apply to Damasus for information and advice. The answer of Damasus was soon given. He[7] summarily repudiated Maximus, and advised the Emperor to summon a Council of Bishops at Constantinople, for the purpose of settling the affairs of the Church, and of appointing and consecrating an orthodox Bishop for that see. Thus incidentally the grotesque Episcopate of Maximus, and his clandestine ordination in Gregory's Chapel, were overruled for permanent good to the Church.

[5] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 1, 2. He omitted the Patriarch of *Antioch*, the Episcopal throne of that city being disputed by two Catholic Bishops, Meletius and Paullinus.

[6] Greg. Carm. xi. 1005.

[7] Concil. General. iv. 1699. Collectio Holstenii Veterum Rom. Eccl. Mon. pp. 37—43.

Digitized by Google

Theodosius followed the advice of Damasus; he arrived at Constantinople, November 24, A.D. 380, and not long afterwards he summoned a Synod for the month of May in the following year.

In his desire for peace, he invited Demophilus,[8] the Arian Bishop of Constantinople, to a conference, and interrogated him whether he would subscribe the Creed of Nicæa. Demophilus declined to do so, and left the city.

On the 26th of November the Churches of Constantinople were restored by an imperial decree to the Catholics, who had been excluded from them for forty years.

Gregory Nazianzen, who was vexed with himself for his credulity, and distressed by its unhappy consequence, and had retired into the country for a short time, was also preparing to quit Constantinople altogether. But his faithful flock implored him to stay. He addressed them on his return from the country in an oration,[9] where, without mentioning the name of Maximus, he speaks of the severe trials which he and they had recently passed through, and contrasts the true Christian philosopher with the specious counterfeit bearing that title.

The Emperor also generously acknowledged the services which he had rendered to the true faith, and said to him, "Constantinople has need of you, and God makes use of me to give you this Church."[1] The people[2] insisted on his accepting the offer, and the Emperor conducted him to the Church.

[8] Socr. v. 7. Sozom. vii. 5.

[9] Orat. xxvi. p. 471.

[1] For the history, see Gregory's autobiographical Poem, xi. 1275—1315, p. 743.

[2] Ibid. 1315—1319. Cp. 1370.

Digitized by Google

It was a dark November morning, Nov. 26, 380;[3] the city was wrapped in a dense fog. The Church of S. Sophia was thronged with a vast multitude of people, and with armed soldiers. Theodosius and Gregory entered the chancel together. The service of prayer and praise began, and when the chant of the Psalms pealed forth, the sun broke out from the gloom and lighted up the Church with a sudden splendour, which shone, says Gregory, as with a lightning flash, and reminded him of the glories of the ancient Tabernacle illumined by divine splendour, and filled his heart with joy.

A sound like thunder echoed through the Church from the whole multitude, demanding Gregory for their Bishop. He was unable to address the people, but requested one of the priests to speak for him what he had to say: "Brethren, be still: now is the time for praising God; there will be another season for other things."

Gregory was put in possession of the Episcopal palace and revenues by the Emperor, and was generally recognized by the people as Bishop designate of Constantinople, but as yet the popular choice had not been sanctioned by the Church. Soon afterwards he preached to the people, and in the presence of the Emperor, on his own position at Constantinople. He had come thither (he said) solely by invitation, to revive the true faith, and he disclaimed[4] any ambitious aspirations for the high and responsible office in which he had been placed.

He made a bold appeal to the Emperor himself, as the deputy and vicegerent of God. "Confer honour,"

[3] For the history, see Gregory's autobiographical Poem, xi. 1325—1390, p. 745.

[4] See Orat. xxxvi., preached in December, A.D. 380.

Digitized by Google

he said, "on the purple which you wear. Recognize the trust committed to your care; the secret of your power is in remembering that the things above are of God; you share with Him in things below. Place not your confidence in your gold and in your Legions, but in your faith and obedience to Him. And you Nobles, be loyal to your Prince, but first of all be true to God. You, who boast the splendour of your lineage, illustrate it by your virtues. And you, Philosophers and Sophists, who court popular applause, what name will befit you, if you lack the first of all sciences, the wisdom from above? And you, people of this great city, the first city in the world, next to the first of all (Rome), show yourselves to be first in your lives and virtues, and not in licentiousness and vice."

The reforms which Gregory made in the Church of Constantinople, especially in its public services, are described by himself in his farewell oration,[5] and are celebrated by an illustrious contemporary in the West, S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.[6] His noble beneficence, his unsparing liberality of his Episcopal revenues in works of charity, gave a dignity to his Episcopate which his enemies envied, but did not appreciate.

On the 25th of December, 380, being Christmas Day, he preached on the Mystery of the Incarnation, and on the manner in which it is to be celebrated.[7] Two other orations,[8] on the Baptism of Christ, and on

[5] Orat. xlii.

[6] Ambrose de Spiritu Sancto, Prolog., on the change wrought at Constantinople by Gregory.

[7] Orat. xxxviii. The Benedictine Editors affirm that, in the East as well as in the West, the Nativity was then celebrated on this day, Dec. 25. Cp. Neander, iii. 416. The visit of the Magi and the Baptism of Christ (and afterwards the Miracle at Cana) were commemorated on Jan. 6, ibid. p. 415.

[8] Orat. xxxix. xl. pp. 661—729; and cp. above. p. 306.

Digitized by Google

the spiritual gifts and graces bestowed in the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, and on the danger of delay of Baptism, and on the Baptism of young children, were delivered by him at Constantinople on January 6 and January 7, A.D. 381.

On the 10th of January, A.D. 381, the Churches of the Eastern Empire were assigned by an imperial decree to the Catholics who confessed the faith of Nicæa; and the heresies of Photinus, Arius, and Eunomius were condemned. It defined as professors of the true faith, "those persons who confessed the Almighty God, and Christ His Son, God with Him, God of God, and Light of Light; and who do not wrong the Holy Spirit by depriving Him of co-equal glory. In a word, those who acknowledge with a pure faith, and with no alteration, the undivided substance of the Holy Trinity." No public assembly of heretics was tolerated within the precincts of towns.

In consequence of this edict, the Catholic Bishops were restored to their sees; and no separate religious body possessed any Ecclesiastical organization visible to the eye, except the few followers of Paullinus at Antioch who were Catholics, being supported by Western influence, but held aloof from communion with Meletius, who had been consecrated to the See of Antioch in A.D. 361; and the Macedonians, who professed to receive the faith of Nicæa, but were heretical as to the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, which had not been defined in that Creed, and who numbered thirty-six Bishops in Asia.

The legislation of Theodosius in Ecclesiastical matters exceeded legitimate limits. It was reasonable and just that the Catholics should be restored to the Churches from which they had been ejected under

Digitized by Google

Constantius, Julian, and Valens. But the disabilities and penalties imposed by him on non-Catholics could not be justified. The evil consequences of an appeal from the spiritualty to the secular power, for coercive measures against heretics, were displayed in a striking manner at this time in the West, in the treatment of the Priscillianists by the Spiritualty and Temporalty.

The Priscillianists—so called from Priscillian, a patrician of Spain—propagated erroneous opinions, derived partly from Manichæism,[9] and partly from Gnosticism.[1] They asserted the principle of Dualism,[2] and the evil of Matter; and condemned Marriage, and instituted Fasts of their own, and refused to consume the Eucharistic Elements, and separated themselves from the Church. And like other Gnostics, who made a show of asceticism, and vilified the human body, they opened the door to Antinomian licentiousness in practice, and dissoluteness of life.[3]

They were condemned by the Council of Saragossa in A.D. 381.[4] But unhappily some Bishops of the Spanish Church were not content with this spiritual sentence. They appealed to the Secular Arm, first to the Emperor Gratian, and afterwards to the usurper Maximus at Treves, who, notwithstanding the remonstrances of S. Martin, the saintly Bishop of Tours, condemned Priscillian and five of his adherents to death. These extreme measures, strongly censured

[9] On which, see above, vol. i. 198, 372.

[1] On which, see above, vol. i. pp. 180—187, 213, 221.

[2] On which, see above, vol. i. p. 202. There is little force in the allegations of Gibbon (chap. xxv.), following Lardner (Credibility, chap. cvii.), that the statements of Augustine and others (see Tillemont, viii. 495—502) must be false, because Priscillian professed asceticism. Hyper-Asceticism and Antinomianism are often near neighbours.

[3] Sulpic. Sever. Hist. lib. ii. c. 46—51.

[4] Concil. General. ii. p. 1009. Bruns, Concil. ii. 13.

Digitized by Google

by S. Ambrose (Epist. 24 and 26, de Offic. ii. 21), produced a reaction in favour of Priscillian and his friends, who were regarded by some as Martyrs,[5] and they gave an impetus to their heresy.

But to return to the East. The summons issued by Theodosius to the Bishops for the Council of Constantinople, announced that the purpose of its convocation was to confirm the faith of Nicæa, and to calm the troubles of the Church.[6]

One hundred and fifty Bishops obeyed the Emperor's call. They came from all parts of the East but Egypt. None were convened from the West; nor did Damasus, Bishop of Rome, who advised the convention, send any legates to the Synod. The troubles which were to be tranquillized affected two Eastern Churches only: the succession to the See of Constantinople was to be settled, and the schism at Antioch was to be healed.

As to the two questions of doctrine which needed deliberation, one of them, namely the heresy of Apollinarius, had been already condemned by Damasus in a Council at Rome,[7] in the following terms:—"If any one says that the Virgin Mary is not Mother of God, he has no part in the deity. If any one says that a Man was first made, and that afterwards the Son of God assumed that Man's person, he is to be condemned. If any one invents two Sons, one of God the Father,

[5] Sulpicius Severus, Hist. ii. 51, says, "Priscilliano occiso, non solum non repressa est hæresis, sed confirmata latius progressa est; namque sectatores ejus, qui eum priùs ut sanctum honoraverant, posteà ut martyrem colere cœperunt." A summary of the history may be seen in Fleury, iii. 384—390, 470—473. Tillemont, viii. 491—527. Cp. Gibbon, chap. xxvii. pp. 33—37.

[6] Socr. v. 8. Sozom. vii. 7.

[7] A.D. 373. Concil. General. ii. 896. It had also been refuted by Athanasius; see above, p. 213.

Digitized by Google

the second of the Mother of Christ, he forfeits the adoption promised to the faithful. If any one does not adore the Crucified, let him be placed among those who would destroy God. If any one says that the flesh of Christ has now been laid aside, and that His Godhead is now without a human body, and that He will not come again with that body, let him not see the glory of the Second Advent. If any one says that Christ's flesh came from heaven, and was not assumed by Him from us, let him be anathema. If any one places his hope in a Man who *is without a reasonable soul*,[8] he is himself unreasonable, and not worthy to be saved wholly" (i.e. in soul as well as body).

Damasus also addressed a synodical letter to Paullinus, Bishop of Antioch,[9] in which, referring to the Apollinarians, he said, "We anathematize those who assert that the Logos, or *Word*, was instead of a reasonable soul in the human body of Christ. For the Very Word of God was not in the place of a reasonable and intellectual soul in Christ; but the Eternal Word assumed a human soul—that is, a reasonable and intellectual soul—and has retained it in union with Himself. If any one says that the Word of God suffered in His Godhead and not in His

[8] The case of the Apollinarians.

[9] Theodoret, v. 11. The editors of the Concilia Generalia, Labbe and Cossart (tom. ii. 904), are angry with Theodoret because he calls Paullinus Bishop of *Thessalonica*, which was then presided over by Ascholius. But the fact is, Theodoret does *not* describe him as such, but says that he was then *at* Thessalonica (see the title of that chapter in Schulze's edition, p. 1036); he well knew that Paullinus was Bishop of Antioch, and that Ascholius held the See of Thessalonica. See Theodoret, v. 9, where Ascholius is mentioned among the Western Bishops at Rome.

Digitized by Google

flesh and reasonable soul, which He took in the form of a servant as the Scriptures teach, let him be anathema. If any one does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, and died, and became the first-begotten from the dead, being the Life, and Author of Life, as God, let him be anathema."

Thus, previously to the Council of Constantinople, the Roman Church had condemned Apollinarianism, which virtually destroyed the value of the Incarnation to human nature *as a whole*, inasmuch as it excluded the *soul* of man from participating in the benefit of that Incarnation, and consequently from the blessings of Redemption and Sanctification, and eternal Glory.[1]

After such declarations as these from the Bishop and Council of Rome on the Apollinarian heresy, there was no need for Western Bishops to undertake a long journey to the East on that account.

The same may be said with regard to the other heresy which claimed the Council's attention, the Macedonian heresy, which denied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. That also had been condemned by Damasus. In the same Epistle to Paullinus he says,[2] "Whosoever does not confess that the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and is verily and properly of the divine substance, as the Son and Word of God is, Who is God of God; and whosoever does not confess that there is One Godhead of the Father,

[1] The character of Apollinarianism, and its dangerous consequences to the doctrine of the Incarnation and the whole scheme of Redemption, are well pointed out by Dr. J. A. Dorner on the Person of Christ, Division i. vol. ii. pp. 393, 398, English Translation.

[2] Theodoret, v. 11. It had also been refuted by S. Basil in his treatise "de Spiritu Sancto."

Digitized by Google

Son, and Holy Ghost; and that there are three real Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Eternal, Almighty, creating all things, and preserving all things; and that the Holy Spirit is to be worshipped by all creatures, as the Father is, and the Son is; and whoever holds the true faith as to the Father and the Son, but does not hold the true faith as to the Holy Spirit,[3] let him be anathema. The salvation of Christians rests on this foundation, to believe in the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and to be baptized into the One Godhead, and to believe in it."

These declarations of Damasus smoothed the way for the Bishops of the Council at Constantinople, so far as the two dogmatic questions were concerned, which they had to settle synodically.

It was fortunate also that the Pope's epistle had been addressed to Paullinus of Antioch, because he was the Bishop of the Catholic party separated from that of Meletius, which was also sound in the faith; and after this Roman rescript the two parties, whose differences were personal rather than of principle, were more likely to coalesce in the same profession of the truth.

Before the opening of the Council, the Bishops proceeded to the Palace of the Emperor.[4] Theodosius requested that Meletius might not be pointed out to him, but he recognized him at once as the venerable Bishop of Antioch who on the day before his advancement to the dignity of Augustus had appeared to him in a dream, and had invested him with the imperial purple, and had placed the royal diadem on his head. "He embraced him," says the historian, "as a son

[3] The case of the Macedonians.

[4] Theodoret, v. 6 and 7.

Digitized by Google

saluting his father, and kissed his eyes, his mouth, his breast, and his hands."

The Council of Constantinople differed in some respects from other great Councils of the Church.

Like the Council of Nicæa, and like other great Councils, it was indeed convened by the Emperor. The Council of Nicæa had not only been summoned by Constantine, but had been opened by him, and he had taken part in its deliberations. But Theodosius does not appear to have ever been present at the sessions of the Council of Constantinople; much less did he attempt to control the Synod by any personal direction, or by means of civil or military officers, as had been done by the Emperor Constantius in the Synods convened by him. The Council of Constantinople was one of the most free and purely spiritual assemblies that ever met in Christendom.

In the absence of the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, Meletius, the venerable Bishop of Antioch, presided by right at the Synod.[5] It numbered among its 150 members, two brothers of S. Basil, Gregory Bishop of Nyssa, and Peter Bishop of Sebaste; Helladius, the successor of S. Basil; Amphilochius, his intimate friend; Cyril, the venerable Bishop of Jerusalem; his nephew Gelasius, of Cæsarea in Palestine; and many other Bishops who had been Confessors of the faith.

The heterodox Bishops, called Macedonians or Semi-Arians, being thirty in number, principally from the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, were also summoned to the Council, in the hope that, as they accepted the doctrine of the Godhead of the Son as

[5] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. 1515—1520, where he draws a beautiful picture of that holy man.

Digitized by Google

well as of the Father, and had assented to an orthodox formula proposed by Liberius, Bishop of Rome, they might be won over to perfect agreement with the Catholics.

The first business to be transacted by the Council was to provide a Bishop for Constantinople.

This was done by a Synodical act, affirming that the election and consecration of Maximus the Cynic was null and void.[6]

Gregory Nazianzen was then declared to be Bishop of Constantinople by the suffrages of the Synod.[7] Gregory himself says that he was very unwilling [8] to be placed in that see on all accounts but one, namely, the hope which he entertained that he might be able to heal the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches as to the Episcopate of Antioch, and to act as a "choragus between the two choirs, so that they might sing together in harmony."

The affairs of Constantinople having been thus quietly settled, the next thing was to provide for the pacification of the Church of Antioch.

It had been agreed between Meletius and Paullinus, that in the event of the death of Meletius, no new Bishop should be elected; but that Paullinus[9] (who had been made Bishop of Antioch by Western influence) should succeed quietly to the see; and the principal priests of Antioch—Flavian among them—had assented to this compact, which needed only to be ratified by the Council. But at this juncture, to the

[6] Canon 4.

[7] Greg. Carm. xi. 1525—1545.

[8] *βοῶν καὶ στένων*, Carm. xi. 1526—1539.

[9] Socr. v. 5. Sozom. viii. 3. Theodoret (v. 4) states that when Meletius proposed this compact, Paullinus dissented. But the other account seems most probable. See De Broglie, v. 425.

Digitized by Google

deep sorrow of the Emperor and of the Bishops, who admired, revered, and loved him, Meletius died. His funeral oration was pronounced by Gregory of Nyssa, brother of S. Basil,[1] who says that their "Elijah had been taken away from them, and that there was no Elisha to take his place." Meletius was buried with almost royal honours at Antioch.[2]

Gregory Nazianzen succeeded him as President of the Synod. The schism at Antioch seemed now about to be healed; and it might have been hoped that both parties would unite cheerfully under the Episcopal rule of the survivor of the two Catholic Bishops, Paullinus.

But many of the Eastern Bishops were prejudiced against Paullinus as a nominee of the Western Church, and proposed to elect a successor to Meletius. Gregory wisely and firmly protested against such a proceeding,[3] which was contrary to the expressed wishes of Meletius himself, and was a contravention of an amicable compact, and an abandonment of the means of union, and would be a continuation of the long-protracted schism.

He exhorted the Eastern Bishops to yield to the Western for the sake of peace, and not to contend for their own private opinions and wishes. "Let us be content to suffer a little defeat," he said,[4] "in order that we may gain a great victory; namely, to be saved for God, and to save the world, which is now miserably perishing. All victories are not glorious."

[1] And is extant in his works, iii. 587, ed. Paris. 1638.

[2] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. 1574—1583, p. 759.

[3] In his autobiographical Poem (Carm. xi. 1591—1679) he gives a full report of his speech on the occasion; it was characterized by sound wisdom, practical good sense, fervent piety and charity.

[4] Ibid. 1654.

Digitized by Google

But his expostulations were unavailing. The Eastern Episcopate had suffered a partial demoralization in the evil days of Constantius and Valens. Many unlearned and time-serving persons of low origin, and vulgar and sordid minds, had aspired to the Episcopal office, from worldly motives, to escape military service, and to enjoy immunities from taxation, and for the sake of secular emoluments. Arianizing Bishops had been intruded into many Episcopal sees; and for the sake of retaining their position they had conformed to the orthodox Creed under Theodosius. These were the persons whom Gregory calls the "younger Bishops,"[5] and who rejected his counsel and that of their elder brethren; and whose passionate ebullitions at the close of his speech are described by him with sensitive irritability.[6]

Eventually Flavian was elected by the Easterns to be Bishop of Antioch.

The original mischief of the injudicious policy of Lucifer of Cagliari, who had rashly consecrated Paullinus in opposition to Meletius (against the wiser counsel of Athanasius and Eusebius of Vercellæ[7]), became now more apparent by its disastrous consequences, and it recoiled on Paullinus himself.

But the election of a second Bishop to the see of Antioch was not the only misfortune. Gregory's own appointment to the Archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople was next called in question.

[5] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. *v.* 1620.

[6] Ibid. *v.* 1680; cp. xii. 92. His strictures on contemporary Bishops in his two other poems, Carm. xii. pp. 778—823 (see especially pp. 787 and 797), and Carm. xvii. pp. 849—854, "on false Bishops," refer specially to such prelates as these.

[7] See above, p. 32; Theodoret, iii. 2; Socr. iii. 9; Sozom. v. 13.

Digitized by Google

He had provoked many of the Easterns by his bold rebuke of them for their unfairness to Paullinus, and for their disregard of peace. Other Bishops, devoted to the interests of the West, now arrived at Constantinople. They were headed by Timotheus, who had just succeeded his brother Peter in the See of Alexandria, and who brought with him many Egyptian Bishops, and was soon joined by some from Macedonia, who seem to have been actuated by feelings of personal animosity, envy, and jealousy against Gregory,[8] and who remonstrated against the action of the Easterns in raising Gregory to the See of Constantinople. They alleged that this appointment was contrary to the Canons of the Church, especially to the 15th Canon of Nicæa, which forbade translations of Bishops,[9] and which therefore had prohibited such an act as the election of Gregory, who was already a Bishop of another see, either Nazianzus or Sasima.

It was vain to urge that Gregory had never been Bishop of Nazianzus; and, though he had been reluctantly placed by Basil at Sasima, he had long since quitted it; and that translations of Bishops were not without precedent,[1] not only among the Arians, by whom Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Demophilus of Berœa, had been translated to the See of Constantinople itself, but even among Catholics, as in the cases of the two greatest Bishops of Antioch, Eustathius and Meletius, who had been translated from other sees; and that the Canon of Nicæa, being only

[8] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. 1804—1815.

[9] Cp. Concil. Antioch. c. 2; Concil. Sardic. c. 1, 2.

[1] Gregory (ibid. *v.* 1810) says that his enemies assailed him by means of obsolete laws (*νόμοι πάλαι τεθνηκότες*).

Digitized by Google

a Canon on discipline, and not on doctrine, could be altered by another Council like that of Constantinople. Gregory, whose susceptible temperament was as little qualified to endure provocation as it was to allay it, and who was heartily tired of controversy, especially concerning himself, and eagerly longed for peace, at first withdrew from the sessions of the Council; and at length, when he found that the storm had not blown over, resolved to be the "Jonah to calm it,"[2] by casting himself out of the ship. He therefore tendered his resignation of the see first to the Council, and next to the Emperor, whom he earnestly entreated to relieve him of a burden which pressed too heavily upon him, and to restore peace to the Church by allowing him to retire from his see. Theodosius, with some reluctance, accepted the proffered resignation.[3]

Rejoicing at his own emancipation from the cares of office, and at his relief from the weight of its responsibilities, he closed his career at Constantinople with a public farewell Address in the principal Church of the city.

If we may be allowed the expression, he had a glorious sunset. In the modern language of Greece, the Sun is said *βασιλεύειν*,[4] i. e. *to reign as a king*, not when it blazes in the zenith, but when it sinks in the west. Never did that great Christian Preacher, Gregory of Nazianzus, reign more gloriously than in the golden hues and magnificent splendour of that

[2] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. 1828—1855.

[3] Ibid. 1880—1904.

[4] *βασιλεύει ὁ ἥλιος, the sun is setting*—a remarkable expression, due to the beauty of the climate, and temperament of the inhabitants, of Greece.

Digitized by Google

oratorical sunset,[5] when, in the presence of 150 Bishops assembled in the Church of S. Sophia in the month of June, 381, he poured forth a flood of rich and luminous eloquence, in which he described the fruits of his Episcopate in awakening the true faith and worship at Constantinople after a sleep of forty years; and in which he addressed a pathetic adieu to persons and things most dear to him—the Clergy, the Choir, the people, young and old, men and women, the sick and needy, widows, orphans, and virgins, his own Episcopal throne, the great Cathedral Church, the still more beloved Chapel of Anastasia;[6] to the Emperor, the Palace, the Courtiers, the City of Constantinople, the East and the West, and the Angels and Divine Presence dwelling in that Church; and in which he invoked the benediction of the Blessed Trinity upon it.

Gregory made his will before[7] he left Constanti-

[5] Greg. Naz. Orat. xlii. p. 745. This Address stirred the heart of Gibbon himself (ch. xxvii. p. 29), who says, "The peroration in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the East and the West, is pathetic and almost sublime."

[6] The valedictory words of Gregory to his beloved Anastasia, to the Church of S. Sophia, and to other Churches of the city, and to his own Episcopal See, and to his Clergy and Flock, and to the City and People of Constantinople, were probably in the mind of Bishop Ridley, when, on the eve of his Martyrdom at Oxford (Oct. 16, 1555), he wrote his farewell to the University of Cambridge, his own "loving mother and nurse," and to his "own dear College," Pembroke Hall, in whose orchard he had learnt by heart all St. Paul's Epistles and the Canonical Epistles, and to his own former Parish of Herne, in East Kent, and to the Cathedral Churches of Canterbury, Rochester, and London, and to the Clergy and People of those cities, and to the "Higher House of Parliament." Foxe's Book of Martyrs, p. 1606. Ridley, Life of Ridley, book viii. pp. 631, 636, Lond. 1763.

[7] If the document given as such by the Benedictine Editors, ii. 201, is genuine.

Digitized by Google

nople. He departed from it with a metrical prayer,[8] as he had entered it:[9] "May the Trinity be preached there, and may some other person who is worthy, perfect the preaching of it. I will yield to him the throne, but will never cease speaking to God." He then retired first to Nazianzus, and then to Arianzus, and died A.D. 389. One of his greatest orations was spoken soon after his retirement—his panegyric on his friend Basil at Cæsarea;[1] and thus Gregory Nazianzen disappears in company with the beloved comrade of his youth, his manhood, and old age. "They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided."[2]

Gregory was deeply regretted after his departure even by some of those who had caused it;[3] and who, when he had vacated his Episcopal throne, were much distressed to see it filled by any other occupant.

At length he was succeeded in the See of Constantinople by a very different person, Nectarius. He was of a noble family in Tarsus, and had served in high civil offices with credit, and was venerable for his age and gravity of manner. But he was neither a priest nor deacon, and for reasons like those which had weighed with Constantine and Constantius, he had delayed his baptism, and as yet was unbaptized. Theodosius had ordered the Bishops to submit to him the names of those whom they deemed fit to fill the vacant See of Constantinople. One of the

[8] Carm. iv. p. 669.

[9] See above, p. 301.

[1] Orat. xliii. p. 769. It is supposed by the Benedictine Editors to have been preached by Gregory in the autumn of A.D. 381, in the Cathedral Church of Cæsarea, famous for Basil's brave conduct towards the Emperor Valens, which is described in this oration.

[2] 2 Sam. i. 23.

[3] Greg. Naz. Carm. xi. *v.* 1905—1918.

Digitized by Google

Bishops, the recently-appointed Bishop of Antioch,[4] Flavian, in framing his own list, added the name of Nectarius, little dreaming that he would be chosen. However, Theodosius selected him; the people approved the choice; and eventually the Council approved it. Perhaps the example of S. Ambrose, raised by Valentinian and the people of Milan in a similar manner from a civil office to the Episcopate, may have been pleaded as a precedent; and the Emperor may probably have been cognizant of some qualifications in Nectarius, which many afterwards admired in him.[5]

On the death of Meletius, Gregory had presided in the Council. After Gregory's resignation, Timotheus of Alexandria, and lastly Nectarius held that honourable position.

The great work of the Council now remained to be done; to declare the true doctrine of the Church against the Apollinarian heresy, denying our Lord's perfect Manhood, and affirming that He had a human body without a reasonable soul; and against the Macedonian heresy, denying the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. Theodosius had summoned the Macedonian Bishops in hopes that they might be induced to renounce their heresy and to acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Ghost; but they declined to do so, and thirty-six in number quitted the Council.[6] Their seces-

[4] The perplexity produced in the *West* by the consecration first of Maximus (who had many friends there), next by the election of Gregory himself, next by that of Flavian, next by that of Nectarius, is evident from a letter of S. Ambrose to Theodosius, Epist. 13, p. 815, ed. Bened. It seems from Epist. 14 ibid. that these matters were explained to the Westerns by the Emperor himself.

[5] Theodoret, v. 8. Sozom. vii. 10. Socr. v. 8. Others have formed a less favourable opinion of him. See Tillemont, ix. 488.

[6] Socr. v. 8. Sozom. vii. 7.

Digitized by Google

sion, however, much as it was to be regretted in other respects, facilitated the accomplishment of the Synod's work. As has been already said, the ground had been cleared on these two dogmatic questions by the writings of Athanasius and of Basil, and by the Council of Rome under Damasus, and by his Epistle to Paullinus of Antioch; and certain words were already at hand for adoption by the Council, which had been used in dogmatic treatises and catechetical instructions in the Church on these two[7] articles of the faith. The Council agreed without a dissentient voice, as far as we know, in the following determinations:—

1. *To confirm the faith of Nicæa* in precisely the same words as those in which it was originally put forth in A.D. 325.

2. To *add to* that Creed some words declaratory of the doctrine of Holy Scripture and the Church, on the perfect Manhood (in *soul* as well as body) of the Son of God, in opposition to the *Apollinarian* heresy.

3. To *add* also to that Creed some words declaratory of the doctrine of Holy Scripture and the Church, on the *Godhead* of the *Holy Ghost*, in opposition to the *Macedonian* heresy.

This was done as follows:[8] the additions made at Constantinople are printed in *italics*:—

[7] They had been inserted in the Ancoratus of S. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, c. 121, which was composed before A.D. 374. See Petav. on Can. 60, p. 372; and cp. Tillemont, ix. p. 495. Nicephorus Callisti (Hist. Eccl. xii. 13) ascribes the redaction of the Creed to Gregory Nyssen; and Marcus Eugenicus, in the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439), to Gregory Nazianzen; but these have no ancient authority in their favour. Cp. Hefele, Concilien, ii. p. 10.

[8] Concil. General. ii. p. 952. For brevity's sake, and because the

Digitized by Google

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds (or ages), Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by Whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate *by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary*, and was made man, and *was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate:* He suffered *and was buried*, and the third day He rose again *according to the Scriptures*, and ascended into heaven, and *sitteth on the right hand of the Father:* and He shall come again *with glory* to judge both the quick and dead; *Whose kingdom shall have no end.*[9]

And we believe in the Holy Ghost, *the Lord*,[1] *and*

greater part of the Creed promulgated at Constantinople was a reproduction of the *Nicene Creed*, the whole often bears *that* name, as it does still (cp. Hefele, Concilien, ii. p. 12). The theory of some (e.g. Dean Stanley) that it was first authorized at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, has been disposed of by Hefele, ibid., and p. 31. De Broglie, v. 451. Canon Bright on the Canons, pp. 80, 81.

[9] The Apollinarians are said to have held Millenarian opinions (Concil. General. ii. 896), and this clause may refer to them (see above, vol. i. p. 305), or to the heresy of Marcellus of Ancyra, condemned by the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341.

[1] It is to be regretted that, in the Order for the Holy Communion in the editions of our Book of Common Prayer, a *comma* has *not* been inserted (as in the Greek and Latin copies of the Creed) after the word LORD (Κύριον). The consequence is, that the purpose of the Constantinopolitan Council, in adopting that word, to declare that the Holy Ghost is LORD and GOD (Jehovah), is often ignored and frustrated in our Churches, and the words are run on and recited as if they meant Lord of life as well as Giver of life. There is scarcely any musical setting of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, as far as I am aware, which marks emphatically that the Holy Ghost is LORD.

The editions of our Book of Common Prayer omit "Holy" before "Catholic and Apostolic Church;" probably by an oversight.

Digitized by Google

Giver of Life; Who proceedeth[2] *from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And in one Holy*

[2] ἐκπορευόμενον. The peaceful reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches might, I think, be hoped for by a careful distinction between the two words ἐκπορεύομαι and *procedo*. We *cannot* say that the Holy Spirit ἐκπορεύεται (*issues forth*) from the *Son*, as *from a fountain*; but we may say, and the Easterns cannot deny, that the Holy Spirit *proceeds from the Son* as well as from the Father, inasmuch as Holy Scripture testifies that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit *of the Son* (Rom. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 6; 1 Pet. i. 11), and receives and takes of what is *Christ's* (John xvi. 14, 15), and is *sent by Him* from the Father (John xv. 26), as well as is sent by the Father in the name of the Son (John xiv. 26). But, inasmuch as the Greek word, which the Greek Church uses in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed to signify the *coming forth* of the Holy Spirit, is ἐκπορεύομαι, a word of more limited sense than the Latin word *procedo* and its derivations, and signifying the *issuing forth as a stream from a source*; and inasmuch as this Greek word ἐκπορεύομαι is the word used in *Holy Scripture*, to express the issuing-forth of the Holy Spirit from *the Father* (John xv. 26); and inasmuch as the word ἐκπορεύομαι was *not* used by the ancient Greek Church concerning the Holy Spirit in reference to *the Son*, but only, as the Scriptures speak, with reference to the Father (see Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. viii.); and inasmuch as in the words of S. Athanasius (contra Sabellianos, c. xi. p. 35, ed. Bened. 1777; cp. Bishop Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicæn. ii. 3, 10, 11, and ii. 4, 10), there is but *one original Fountain of Deity*, namely, *in the Father:* therefore we cannot but agree with the Greek Church, speaking the *Greek* language, and affirming that the Holy Spirit *issues forth* (ἐκπορεύεται) *from the Father*, as the sole Fountain of Deity.

S. Gregory Thaumaturgus (scholar of Origen) in his Creed describes the Spirit as ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ ἀϊδίως ἐκπεμφθὲν, and ἐκ θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον καὶ δι' υἱοῦ πεφηνὸς (see Greg. Nyss. Vita Greg. Thaum. tom. iii. 545), and S. Basil de Spir. Sanct. § 18 says that the Spirit δι' ἑνὸς υἱοῦ τῷ ἑνὶ πατρὶ συνάπτεσθαι, and that the divine holiness and royal dignity ἐκ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα διήκει. S. Gregory Nazianzen and S. Gregory Nyssen, the brother of S. Basil, may be supposed to represent the opinion of the Council of Constantinople. S. Gregory Nazianzen thus writes (Orat. ii. p. 30, ed. Bened. Paris, 1778):—"The Father would only in an unworthy manner be said to be the first *principle* (ἀρχὴ) unless He were regarded as the *cause* of that deity which we contemplate in the Son and in the Holy Ghost: in the former s the Son and Word; in the latter as a Forth-coming and Indissoluble." His testimony in Orat. xl.

Digitized by Google

Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

pp. 379, 380, is full and precise. The following paragraphs are from it. Having delivered a protest against Arianism, as introducing the heresy of *three first principles* (ἀρχὰς), consequently of *three Gods*, he asks, "Of Whom could the Son be a Son, unless with relation to the Father as the *Cause* (of Sonship)? The doctrine of the Divine Unity can only be maintained by referring the Son and the Holy Spirit to *one Cause* in the *Father*; not, however, by composition, or commixture; for we cannot hold three Persons (ὑποστάσεις) unless we avoid all notion of coalition, or solution, or confusion. The distinct properties (of the Persons) are, that of the Father, to be the *first Principle*, and *Cause*, and *Fountain*; that of the Son, to have *been caused from Eternity*, and to be the *Cause of the Universe*." See also Orat. xxxi. p. 561, where he speaks of the *issuing forth* (ἐκπόρευσις) of the Holy Spirit from the Father.

S. Gregory Nyssen thus speaks (tom. ii. p. 455, ed. Paris. 1615):—"The essence of the (Divine) virtue of Omniscience and Superintendence is one, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and this virtue *springs forth* from the Father as the *Fountain*, and energizes by the Son, and consummates grace by the power of the Spirit, and is not separated by the distinct properties of the three Persons." And, p. 459, "But if any one should take occasion to charge us with making a mixture and confusion of the Persons, we say that we do not deny a distinction between that which is a *cause*, and that which is *caused* by it. There is also a distinction between that which is caused *immediately* by a cause, and that which is *caused mediately by it*. The property of the Son is to be immediately begotten of the Father; but the property of the Holy Spirit is to be from the Father—in such a way that the Son, Who is between the two, does not obstruct the Holy Spirit from His proper relation to the Father. But when we speak of cause, and of what is caused, we do not impair identity of essence thereby."

And again, p. 463:—"There is virtue which exists without generation, and which is the cause of all generation. From the Father the Son is begotten, *through* Whom are all things. All things were made through the Son, with Whom the Holy Ghost is to be contemplated as having existed from Eternity. No one can behold the Son unless he is illuminated by the Holy Spirit. Since therefore the Holy Spirit, from Whom all ability and supply of grace flows to the creature, depends indeed on the Son, with Whom He is inseparably comprehended, but has His existence *originated by*, and, as it were, hanging on to *its cause*

Digitized by Google

This faith so declared at Constantinople in A.D. 381, has now sounded in the Universal Church for 1500 years. It is recited by the Eastern and Western

in the Father, *from out of Whom He issues forth* (ἐκπορεύεται), He has this characteristic mark of the property of His Person, that He is known together with the Son and by His help, and that He has His existence from the Father; and the Son has also this property, that *through Himself and with Himself* He makes known the Holy Spirit, Who *issues forth from the Father*." The Son is the Mediator (μεσίτης) through Whom life flows eternally from the Father to the Holy Ghost, and by the Holy Ghost to man (Epist. 5).

It cannot, I think, be said that any of these Fathers of the Church, or any of their contemporaries in the East, would have accepted the statement that the Holy Ghost *issues forth from the Son*, as well as from the Father, as *from an original or distinct fountain of Deity.* At the same time the Greek Fathers, while maintaining that God the *Father* is the *only original* Fountain of Deity, did not hesitate to acknowledge that God the Son, as being eternally consubstantial with the Father, is mediately and derivatively a fountain of the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit flows to us *eternally through* God the Son, although He does not flow *forth* or *out* of God the Son. Thus S. Athanasius de Incarnatione et contra Arianos, § 9, vol. i. p. 701, ed. 1777: Οἶδε παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ ὄντα τὸν υἱὸν πηγὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. § 48: Πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως Λόγος ὢν ἐχορήγει τοῖς ἁγίοις τὸ πνεῦμα. S. Cyril Alex. sub Assert. 34: Ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. S. Epiphan. Hæres. 62, p. 515: Ἀεὶ τὸ πνεῦμα σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λαμβάνον, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητος, ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ ἐνυπόστατον ἀεὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, πνεῦμα πατρός. The Greek Fathers taught the ἐκπόρευσις of the Spirit διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, but not ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ. So S. Cyril Alex. de Adorat. lib. i.: Ἐκ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ προχεόμενον πνεῦμα. S. John Damascen. de Fide Orthodoxâ, i. c. xii. p. 148: Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ υἱοῦ δὲ πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· μόνος γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ πατήρ.

The ancient Latin Fathers also declare that the Son receives from the Father this very attribute and prerogative, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him as well as from the Father, Who is the *principal* origin of deity. S. Hilary de Trin. lib. xii. 57, expresses this truth very clearly: "Conserva hanc oro fidei meæ incontaminatam religionem, et usque ad excessum spiritus mei dona mihi hanc conscientiæ meæ vocem, ut quod

Digitized by Google

Churches at the administration of the Holy Communion, and by the Anglican Church at home and in her Colonies throughout the world, and in the Church of America.

The Council of Constantinople made certain Canons on the 9th of July, A.D. 381.[8]

They are described in their preamble as "Canons of the 150 Fathers who came together at Constantinople;" and in some editions of them as "decreed by the Bishops who came together, by the grace of God, to Constantinople from different provinces, being

in regenerationis meæ symbolo, baptizatus in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, professus sum, semper obtineam, Patrem scilicet Te nostrum, et Filium Tuum una Tecum, adorem; Sanctum Spiritum Tuum, *qui ex Te per* Unigenitum Tuum est, promerear." S. Augustine de Trinit. iv. 20, "Totius deitatis *principium* Pater est." *Ibid.* xv. 17, "Non frustrà in hâc Trinitate non dicitur Verbum Dei nisi Filius, nec Donum Dei nisi Spiritus Sanctus, nec de quo genitum est Verbum, et de quo procedit *principaliter* Spiritus Sanctus, nisi Deus Pater." Cp. Novatian. de Trinitate, cap. xxxi., where he speaks of the Father *as the fountain* and first principle of all essence.

The whole is well summed up by S. Epiphanius, Ancorat. §§ 67 and 72: Τὸ πνεῦμα εἶναι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων (τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ) ὡς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ λαμβάνον. Cp. ibid. de Hæres. lxii. § 4, and lxix. § 52; S. Cyril Alex. vi. p. 229. But what the Greeks reasonably complain of is, that the Latins say, and would require all to say, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνον, ἀλλά γε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, καινολογήσαντες. See Photii Epist. ii. § 8, and Theophylact. ad Joann. c. iii. Cp. Confessio Orthodoxa in "Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Orientalis," ed. Kimmel, p. 142.

Since this note was written, two works by two learned writers have come into my hands, one by the Rev. Dr. Pusey, the other by the Rev. H. B. Swete, to which the reader is referred.

[8] Concil. General. ii. 955. Bp. Beveridge, Synodicon, i. p. 85. Bruns, Concil. i. 20. As to the number of the Canons, see Hefele, Concil. ii. p. 13. They appear to have been only four; the other three, which are sometimes ascribed to this Council, belong rather to the Constantinopolitan Synod of the year 382.

Digitized by Google

convoked by the most religious Emperor Theodosius."

Canon 1 declared the Nicene Creed inviolable, and condemned some heresies by name—the Eunomian or Anomœan, the Arian or Eudoxian, the Semi-Arian or *Pneumatomachist*, the Sabellian, Marcellian,[4] Photinian, and *Apollinarian*.

Canon 2.—"The Bishops who are over a Diocese" (the word *Diocese* is here used for an *aggregate* of Provinces, each with a Metropolitan at its head,[5] and their Chiefs of Dioceses in this sense were called *Patriarchs* or *Exarchs*) "may not intrude into Churches which are beyond their own limits," and may not introduce confusion into the Churches.

This Canon is then illustrated by examples of Bishops in various *Dioceses;* e. g. in Egypt, with Alexandria as its head; in the East, with Antioch as its chief City and Church; in Asia, in Pontus, and in Thrace. Each of these several Bishops is to exercise jurisdiction in his own Diocesis respectively, and in that only.

Canon 3.—"However, the Bishop of Constantinople shall have the precedence of honour,[6] next after the Bishop of Rome—because it is "new Rome."

Canon 4.—Against Maximus the Cynic; he is not, and never was, a Bishop; and those who were or-

[4] Therefore Gregory Nyssen's letter (Epist. 5, ed. Migne, p. 1030), in which the Marcellians are mentioned as having been admitted to communion, must have preceded the Council of Constantinople.

[5] See above, chap. vii. p. 241.

[6] τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς. Cardinal Baronius, Ann. A.D. 381, attempted to show that this Canon is not genuine; but in vain. It is contained in all the ancient collections of Canons, and is referred to by Socr. v. 8, and Sozom. vii. 9. See Hefele, p. 17, who acknowledges that this Canon not merely raised the dignity, but extended the jurisdiction of Constantinople; e. g. over the provinces of Thrace.

Digitized by Google

dained by him have no clerical status. All that has been done by him is null and void.

Another Canon is[7] sometimes ascribed to this Council, sometimes to that which met at Constantinople in A.D. 382, for regulating Appeals, which are first to be made to the Provincial Council, and may pass from it to that of the Diocesis (or aggregate of Provinces).

There is no reference made to the Bishop of Rome, nor to the Council of Sardica.[8]

The names of 147 Bishops, or their delegates, are subscribed to the Creed and the Canons.[9]

At the head of them stands Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, followed by Timothy of Alexandria. The names of Meletius of Alexandria and of Gregory Nazianzen also appear in the signatures, as they were parties concerned in the earlier proceedings of the Council. No name of any *Western* Bishop is among the subscriptions to them.

The Bishops of the Council transmitted these Canons and the Creed, as put forth by them, in a Synodical Epistle to the Emperor Theodosius, in which they give thanks to God for the establishment of his imperial power, for the settlement of the peace of the Churches, and for the confirmation of the true faith; and they thus speak: "Having been summoned to Constantinople by thy letters, we began by renewing mutual concord among ourselves; and then we put forth certain short definitions by which we con-

[7] Concil. General. ii. 948, 949.

[8] Fleury, iii. 417; and Tillemont says, ix. 489, "The Council appears to reject, whether designedly, or without giving it a thought, what had been decreed by the Council of Sardica in favour of Rome."

[9] Concil. General. ii. 956.

Digitized by Google

firmed the faith of the Fathers at Nicæa, and condemned certain perverse heresies which had sprung up against it; and also enacted certain Canons for the right constitution and ordering of the state of the Churches; all which we have now appended to this our letter; and we beseech thy clemency that the suffrages of the Synod may be ratified; that, as thou hast done honour to the Church by thy letters convoking the Council, thou wouldest now set thy seal on those things which have been decreed by it." They end with a loyal prayer to Almighty God for the Emperor, and for the peace and prosperity of his realm.

In the following summer (A.D. 382) many of the Bishops returned to the city, when they received a letter from Damasus, inviting them to Rome. They declined that invitation; but they joined in a Synodical Epistle,[1] which they sent from Constantinople by the hands of certain delegates, addressed to Damasus, Ambrose, Ascholius, and other Bishops assembled at Rome.

In this Epistle[2] they describe the recent severe sufferings inflicted on them for the punishment of their sins, and the restitution to them of their Churches, which had been occupied by heretics; and they declare how the Church of Constantinople had been delivered by God from blasphemers, as from the mouth of a lion. They announce that they have received and confirmed in their Synod, the one true faith in the One Godhead, power, and substance, and

[1] Theodoret, v. 8, 9.

[2] Written in the name of the "holy Synod of Orthodox Bishops assembled in the great city Constantinople to their most honoured lords, and most pious brethren and fellow-ministers, the holy Bishops gathered together in the great city Rome."

Digitized by Google

equal dignity, and co-eternal royalty of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in three perfect *hypostases*, or in three perfect *persons;* and that they have condemned all heresies, such as the Sabellian, which confounds the Persons of the Trinity, and destroys their distinct Personality; and of the Eunomians and Arians, and of those who war against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost; and that they have abolished the blasphemy of those which divide the Substance, Nature, and Godhead of the Trinity, and who add to the Uncreated, Consubstantial, Co-eternal Trinity some other nature, created, and of a different substance.

They add that they have ordained Nectarius to be Bishop of Constantinople in their Œcumenical Synod by the common consent of all, and in the presence of the Emperor Theodosius, and of all the Clergy and the City approving it.

They state also that Flavian has been ordained Bishop of Antioch by Bishops of the Eastern Province and Diocese assembled together, and with the consent of the Church; and that this consecration has been approved by the Œcumenical Synod.

They also declare that Cyril, who had been formerly consecrated canonically by Bishops of the Province, and had contended with the Arians, is "Bishop of the *Church of Jerusalem*, the Mother *of all Churches*."[8]

Let us now revert in conclusion to the work

[8] Observe, this title "Mother of all Churches" is given to the Church of Jerusalem in this Synodical Letter addressed to the Bishop of *Rome*, which now calls herself "the Mother and Mistress of all Churches." "Ecclesia Romana omnium Ecclesiarum mater est et magistra" are the words of the Council of Trent. Concil. Trident. Sess. vii.; and again, Sess. xiv. and Sess. xxii., and of Pius IV.'s Creed.

Digitized by Google

of the Council of Constantinople, the confirmation and consummation of the Creed of Nicæa.

1. This Creed, so confirmed and consummated, has been received and maintained in the Church Universal for 1500 years.

The Council of Constantinople, which confirmed and completed that Creed, is called the *Second Œcumenical, or General, Council.*

This fact illustrates the principle already stated,[4] that the test of *Œcumenicity* is not to be decided by the number of Bishops in a Council, nor by the diversity and extent of the countries from which they come, but by the subsequent *reception* of their decrees by the *Church Universal.*

The Constantinopolitan Council consisted, as we have said, of *Eastern* Bishops *alone;* no name of any Western Bishop appears in the subscriptions to it.[5] But this Creed, so promulgated, is *received* by the whole Church, Western as well as Eastern; and therefore, in this respect, the Council of Constantinople is regarded by both as an Œcumenical Council, and takes its place next after the Council of Nicæa, and is called the "Second General Council."

This Creed, which declares the Doctrines of the

[4] So far at least as its *Creed* is concerned (see Hefele, ii. 30—33), whatever may be thought of its *Canons;* especially Canon 3, which was not received by Rome. But the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (with the *filioque*, but *without* the additions made to it at the Council of Trent in the 16th century) is recited by the Church of Rome at the Mass. It is the baptismal Creed of the Eastern Church.

The universal reception of the Constantinopolitan *Creed*, but not of the *Canons*, is another illustration of the proposition already stated with regard to the Council of Nicæa (above, vol. i. p. 393), that a Council may be *General* in some respects and not in others.

[5] The four *Western* names in some copies are spurious. See Hefele, Concilien, ii. 5, note.

Digitized by Google

Christian Faith as revealed by Christ to His Apostles, and delivered by them to the Church, and which has been preserved by God's providence for fifteen centuries, can now never be shaken. The divisions of the Church herself—especially the separation of the East from the West—greatly as they are to be deplored, yet, under the same overruling Providence, have this beneficial effect: no Christian Community now exists, or is likely to exist, which can possess sufficient authority to disturb—even if it were to desire it—the Constantinopolitan Creed, received by Universal Christendom.

. Divided as they are, in some respects, all Catholic Churches sit down, as it were, in peace under the shadow of the trees planted in General Councils by the hands of Ancient Christendom.

2. The Council of Constantinople, which is the Second General Council of the Church, was not summoned by the Bishop of Rome, but by the Emperor Theodosius. And not only was the Bishop of Rome not present at it, but no representative of the Roman See was there.[6] Therefore it is not true (as Roman divines affirm) that the Councils of the Universal Church are dependent on the Bishop of Rome.

3. The Catholic Church of Christ on earth is the divinely-appointed Guardian and Teacher of all heavenly Truth; the Recipient and Dispenser of all spiritual Grace, for the healing of all moral evil, and for the diffusion of all good, by the sanctification of Humanity created anew in Christ, the Son of God, and by the indwelling of God the Holy Ghost. It is the School of all Christian virtue, training men by the discipline of severe struggles on earth, for the

[6] See Hefele, Concilien, ii. pp. 3, 4.

Digitized by Google

glory of the Church triumphant in heaven. Here the Bride must suffer, like the Bridegroom. She shines as a Lily; but a "Lily among thorns" (Cant. ii. 2).

The history of the Christian Church is the record of a continual conflict of the Powers of Evil against her, and against her Divine Lord. It shows how, for men's probation in this world, by the trial of their faith, hope and love, and for the glory of God, her Spiritual Enemy is permitted to put forth his power and subtlety against her; and how he is checked in his course by Christ, working by means of faithful men in the Church, for the glory of God, and for the salvation of souls, and for their own everlasting reward.

So it was before the Council of Constantinople. The Divine Head of the Church, watching over her, so ordered her affairs, that when her condition seemed desperate, then, under His merciful guidance and powerful protection, she was enabled to achieve her noblest victory, and to establish for ever the true Faith in His Eternal Godhead, and perfect Manhood, and in the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and in the doctrine of the Ever-blessed Undivided Trinity. "When the Enemy came in as a flood, the Lord lifted up His standard against him." [7]

4. It is worthy of remark, that the doctrine of the Godhead of the Son was confirmed by the Church in that City, Constantinople, where Arianism, which denied that doctrine, had been dominant for forty years. And it is also observable that the doctrine of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost was established in that same City, where the Author of the heresy which denied that doctrine, and which derived its name from him—Macedonius—had held the chief spiritual

[7] Isa. lix. 19.

Digitized by Google

place as Bishop of that See. It would seem as if the two Divine Persons of the Blessed Trinity—God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost—had been specially present in the Council of Constantinople, which vindicated and confirmed the Godhead of Both; and which declared those doctrines in the Creed, which was then promulgated to the world, and which has been preserved in the Universal Church to this day.

5. Since the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325, to the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381—a period of fifty-six years—the life of the Church had been a continual struggle. Scarcely at any time in that period were those doctrines not in jeopardy. In the latter days of Constantine, and during the reigns of Constantius, of Julian, and of Valens, the champions of the True Faith were contending against her enemies, who were armed with the imperial power of the Roman World.

At the accession of Theodosius some hopes of peace dawned upon her, but these hopes seemed to be soon blighted. As if to show that her trust is not to be placed on Man, but on her Divine Head alone; and that in working out His own purposes for His own glory and worship, and for the good of His Church, He can dispense with all human instruments, some of her most effectual helps were then withdrawn from her. Athanasius had passed away. The noble Confessor of Cæsarea, S. Basil, the greatest Bishop of Christendom after Athanasius, had just been removed by death. His dear friend, "the Theologian," as he was called, Gregory Nazianzen, was invited to Constantinople, and obeyed the summons, and he was raised to the Primacy there. But he fell from that high eminence as rapidly as he had been raised to it; and thus it was shown that God needs not man's

Digitized by Google

eloquence nor learning. The saintly President of the Council, Meletius Bishop of Antioch, the father of the Council as he was termed, the man of all others in Christendom who seemed to be pointed out as the Angel of peace to the Churches, he also was suddenly removed, not by resignation, but by death; and a person whose name excited nothing but astonishment when he was first mentioned as a successor of Gregory Nazianzen in the See of Constantinople, Nectarius, a senator, who, when chosen, had not been baptized, was placed in that Archbishopric, and became the President of the Synod of the Church which was to establish its doctrine and discipline, and to restore its internal peace.

In addition to this, the personal infirmities and defects of temper, charity, learning, and wisdom in many of the Bishops of the Council, which are so graphically portrayed by Gregory Nazianzen in his autobiographical poem,[8] and which are chronicled by our English Historian[9] with disdainful scorn, as disqualifying them for Synodical deliberations, were in fact evidences of the existence and working of a Higher Power, triumphing over human weakness, and manifesting its strength thereby. The greatness of the work done in the Council of Constantinople, and the power, wisdom, and love of the Divine Agent in its execution, were made more conspicuous even by the frailties of the instruments employed in it, and are more entitled to gratitude and admiration on that account. Not by human aid, but by the might of the Eternal Son of God, and by the grace of God the Holy Ghost, Whose presence and guidance

[8] xi. 1680; cp. xii. 154.

[9] Gibbon, chap. xxvii. vol. v. pp. 27—29, ed. 1802.

Digitized by Google

were promised by Christ to His Church, the Council of Constantinople did, what it was designed to do when convened by the Emperor Theodosius.

The storm was now past. The Vessel of the Church, piloted by her divine Lord, passed from that troubled sea, on which she had been tossed for more than half a century, and glided peaceably into the harbour of the true Faith which has been undisturbed for fifteen hundred years.

The past is a pledge of the future. In every age of the Church, when the night is dark, and the winds and waves are high, and the Apostolic Ship may seem to be foundering in the deep, His Presence is with her. Especially in these latter days, when the fiercest tempest may be expected to rage against her, the eye of Faith, mindful of the past, and hopeful for the future, will see His bright Form—made more bright by the contrast with the thick gloom around—walking on the waves in the dark night, and treading on the foaming billows of human pride and worldly presumption, and on the surge of lawlessness and unbelief, and making it a pavement for His feet, and coming near to the ship, and cheering with His divine voice those who, in obedience to His commands and relying on His promises, are there toiling in the storm. And at length, in the last[1] watch of the night, He will still the tempest, so that there will be a great calm, and will bring them in safety to the land of everlasting life, "where they would be."

τῷ Θεῷ δόξα.

[1] Matt. xiv. 24—27. John vi. 18—22.

Digitized by Google

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google